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UNITED STATES CATHOLIC HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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SAINT MARY'S COLLEGE, BALTIMORE, MD.

CATHOLIC HISTORICAL RECORDS AND STUDIES

THE SULPICIANS IN THE UNITED STATES

BY CHARLES G. HERBERMANN, LL.D.

CHAPTER III

ST. MARY'S SEMINARY, 1791-1810

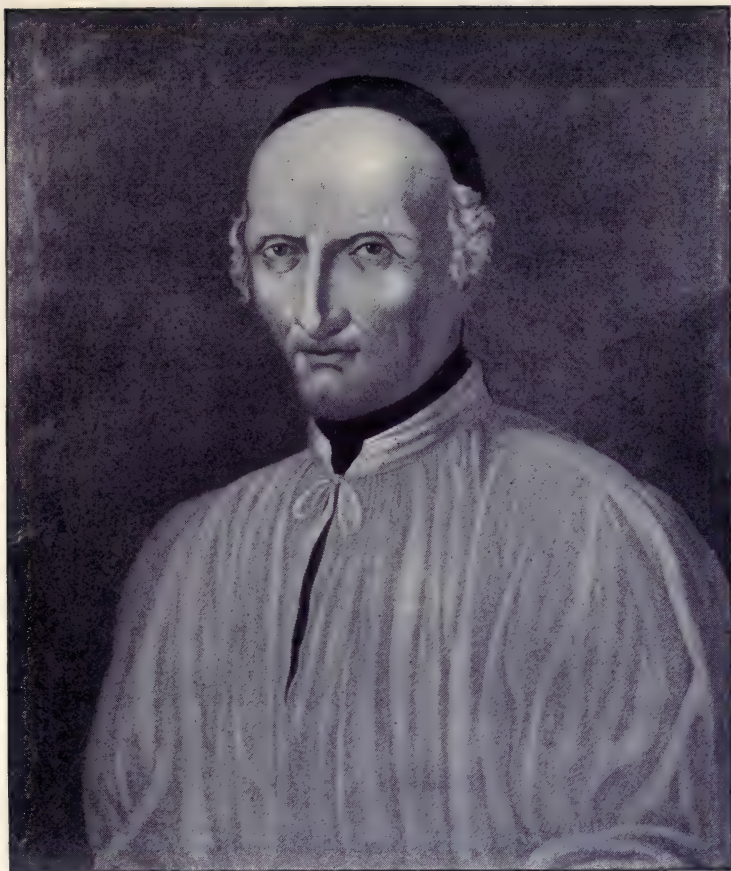
ADMINISTRATION OF M. FRANÇOIS CHARLES NAGOT

As we have seen, the essential purpose of the Society of St. Sulpice from the beginning was the education of the secular clergy, and the management of clerical seminaries. This was M. Olier's conception of the Society; this aim had been constantly kept in view during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and this was the chief end, as M. Emery often emphasized in his letters, for which he sent his Sulpician colony to the United States. We have seen how this scheme originated, how it was favored, nay almost dictated by a variety of circumstances in France and in the United States. We have accompanied the Sulpicians on their voyage to Baltimore, seen them land, and with prompt action establish themselves on the very spot which has been the scene of their devoted labors to this day. We have seen M. Emery's original colony increased in numbers by new arrivals, we have seen most of these accessions scattered northward and westward to work as missionaries in the Lord's vineyard. But though necessity knows no law, and though M. Emery as a practical man was ready to give way to necessity, still he always clung with unwavering firmness to his original plan and to the ideals of his Society.

It is time for us to revert to the story of Bishop Carroll's and M. Emery's initial scheme and to trace the annals of St. Mary's Seminary, as the new institution was entitled. We shall not conceal from our readers the fact that the early records of this institution, destined to be in the truest sense the nursery

of the American Church, are far from full. Its beginnings were very small, and its childhood necessarily modest and quiet. Its growth, like that of all organisms destined to thrive, was slow and its development stormy. But childhood is in many ways the most interesting period of man's life, and the same is true of the life of institutions. Therefore, notwithstanding its insignificant beginnings, the story of St. Mary's Seminary challenges our interest from its infancy.

The professors sent by M. Emery to lay the foundations of his new seminary may be regarded as the acorns from which the great oak was to bud and grow. To enable us, therefore, to watch its early fortunes nothing will be more serviceable than to study the men placed by M. Emery at the head of St. Mary's Seminary. He had been careful and wary in selecting the new faculty; he had observed the natural processes of life too closely to be unaware that a young institution must be animated by young life, that youth with its suppleness can weather many storms to which even the gnarled oak would fall a victim. So he had selected as his two principal professors men in the very heyday of youth, M. Garnier, twenty-nine years old, and M. Tessier, thirty-three. But as vigor without wisdom is exposed to many reverses, he gave them as guide and director a gentle sage approaching the sixties, a man tried in practical life, a good organizer, who only five years before had transformed the *petit séminaire* of which he was superior from an institution with four classes to one with seven classes, wholly changing its scope and character. This was M. François Charles Nagot. He was a man accustomed to command, but sympathetic and prudent. M. Emery had selected him to conduct his negotiations with Bishop Carroll. M. Nagot had shown himself deserving of the superior's confidence, for his mission had ended in success. Withal, M. Nagot had more than ordinary literary talents, for Emery had chosen him to write a life of M. Olier, which was ready for publication at the time Nagot sailed for America. The troubles of the French Revolution put off its publication until 1818, when it was printed by order of M. Duclaux, M. Emery's successor as superior-



M. FRANÇOIS CHARLES NAGOT.

general of the Society of St. Sulpice. M. Nagot was suggested to M. Emery as the right man to conduct the new American enterprise to a successful issue, not only by his past successes, but also because he had gained the good will of Bishop Carroll, and this he retained during all the time that he guided the destinies of the seminary. He was a kind-hearted man, a gentleman in the true sense of the word, of attractive manners and a sympathetic heart. M. Emery's letters to him during his imprisonment, when death stared him in the face, show how close were the ties which united him to Nagot and how completely he trusted him. Nagot deserved this confidence, for while, on the one hand, he was sympathetically responsive to his friend's wishes, he was, on the other hand, firm enough and honest enough to tell him the truth when he thought the superior wrong. This was the case when, in 1797, Nagot wrote to M. Emery disapproving of his adhesion to the oath of liberty and equality and urged him to withdraw from its support. The letter stung the old superior, but he trusted Nagot to the day of his death. Only a short time before his decease, in 1811, Emery, at the time when his Society's existence was threatened in France, proposed to make M. Nagot the superior-general of St. Sulpice in America, including Canada. The latter's health and other circumstances forbade the carrying out of this project. Such was the man selected by M. Emery to be the first head of St. Mary's Seminary, and experience proved the wisdom of his choice.

If we ask what was the sphere of M. Nagot's activity in the new seminary it would be misleading to say that it comprised the usual duties of the head of a house for clerical education. Of course, he performed all the duties of this position, but he did a great deal more. He determined its plans and its future policy, infused into it his spirit, which was the spirit of loyalty to M. Olier and to M. Emery and above all to himself, for M. Nagot was not only the agent who carried out the aims and intentions of his superiors, but their convinced disciple, their honest incarnation. He carried out M. Emery's injunctions to be guided by the views of M. Olier and his successors,

not merely in a spirit of obedience, but because he was convinced that their spirit and policy were expedient, rightful, and necessary. So from the beginning he strove to make St. Mary's another St. Sulpice, and because he and his brethren were imbued with the spirit of St. Sulpice he succeeded in creating an American St. Sulpice. Not that the new home of clerical learning was a slavish imitation of the French model. This would not have been in the spirit of M. Olier and M. Emery. But what was vital in the principles, in the practices, and in the spirit of the older institution was faithfully reproduced in the new. What these practices and customs were will appear later on. Meantime, we must realize at least some of the extraordinary duties laid on M. Nagot by the novelty of his position.

To begin with, he was obliged to acquire a new language, and while this was equally true in the case of M. Tessier and M. Garnier, M. Nagot's task was far more difficult. An old gentleman of sixty finds it much harder to acquire a new language than a man of thirty. Again, all the Sulpicians had to fit themselves for their new environment, for the peculiar needs and requirements of the young, rapidly rising town with few established traditions, to the busy life of men for whom little had been done by their ancestors and who must work out for themselves nearly all that constitutes the comforts and adornments of life, and to accommodate themselves to the American spirit of self help, which was the natural outcome of the juvenile conditions of the land. He was a Frenchman cast among Americans, a Frenchman well advanced in years and of strong conservative tendencies, but at the same time a very intelligent French gentleman. How much that meant was shown both by the testimony of their American contemporaries, who treated men like Cheverus, Flaget, and Dubois not only with respect, but even with reverence, and also by Protestant England, who did herself immortal honor by her generous treatment of the exiled clerical victims of the French Revolution.

M. Nagot's spotless character, his unselfish devotion, his earnest desire to promote the interests of the young American Church, and his whole-souled sympathy with the moderate free-

dom of the American Republic soon gained him friends and influence. He was beloved and trusted by Bishop Carroll. His native moderation and good temper and his prudent diplomacy made him an ideal intermediary between the Sulpician superior-general and the Bishop of Baltimore. He was always ready to be of service to the latter and always truly loyal to the traditional principles of the former. Along with his brethren of the seminary he became an impressive element of the Catholic clergy. Sunday after Sunday their presence at the principal functions added to the distinction and solemnity of divine service. During the week, he and his brethren helped the bishop and his regular assistants in every possible way. Gradually the Sulpician Fathers, having sufficiently mastered the English language, aided the secular clergy in the pulpit, and long before the end of M. Tessier's administration in 1829, we see that gentleman and others of the faculty of St. Mary's able to grace the pulpit even on unusually festive occasions. Of course, though he had M. Tessier as *économé* or procurator to aid him in the management of the temporalities of the house, M. Nagot naturally felt that his was the principal responsibility for the economic progress of the seminary. No doubt, also, whenever there were student classes in the house, and in fact at all times, he presided at the community exercises and inspired his brethren with his own gentle and charitable spirit by both word and example. To all these domestic activities were joined, if not a supervisory at least an advisory authority over the other Sulpicians who were serving Bishop Carroll at a distance from Baltimore either as missionaries or as professors, nay even as presidents in Georgetown College.

M. Nagot, as we see, was a man of many duties and responsibilities, and a wise, faithful, and industrious servant of his Society, his bishop, and his seminarians. He was not a young man, and the wear and tear of his new life in Baltimore could not fail to make an impression on his constitution. As early as 1795, when he had just entered the sixties, his strength began to fail. A stroke of apoplexy, though slight, must have greatly impaired his vigor and power of work, but he recovered, it is

true, to a certain degree. When in 1804 he was recalled to France by M. Emery he was ready to obey, though, like MM. Garnier and Tessier, he had grown fond of his new home and was the trusted and devoted friend of Bishop Carroll. However, he was detained by illness, apparently connected with the paralytic stroke which prostrated him ten years before. He therefore continued his work at Baltimore until soon after M. Emery changed his plans and resolved not to disturb the Sulpician colony at Baltimore.

M. Nagot was more than ever determined to make the seminary a success. When other sources of supply failed to send the needed students, he determined to provide them himself. He was now some seventy-three years old and needed rest or at least some quiet accustomed employment. But the fire of zeal was still burning in the veteran. He left Baltimore, which had become a second home to him, and betook himself to Pennsylvania, to a small German village named Pigeon Hill, and founded there a *petit séminaire*, attended by the German Catholic boys of the neighborhood who showed a vocation for the priesthood. Their numbers did not go beyond ten or twelve, but he was not discouraged. He opened his school and instructed the boys in the elements of a high school education. In 1809 M. Emery congratulated him on his zeal and on the progress of his undertaking. But at the very time that the superior-general wrote his letter of congratulation, Pigeon Hill, or Friendly Hall, had ceased to exist and its students had been transferred to Mount St. Mary's, near Emmitsburg. M. Nagot returned to St. Mary's Seminary, Baltimore, and nursed his gradually developing institution until in 1810 a repetition of his old trouble forced him to resign about the time when M. Emery proposed to make him the general superior of the Society of St. Sulpice in America. The venerable priest was now in his seventy-seventh year. M. Nagot was an industrious writer. He was not only the author of several books but also the translator of a number of English Catholic classics into French. A list of his literary works is subjoined.¹

¹*Recueil de Conversions Remarquables, nouvellement opérées en quel-*



M. ANTOINE GARNIER.

The youngest and perhaps the most distinguished member of St. Mary's faculty was M. Antoine Garnier, who at the time of his arrival in Baltimore was twenty-nine years old. He had been for several years professor of dogma at Lyons, and presumably M. Emery intended him to fill the same chair in Baltimore. He ended his career as superior-general of the Society of St. Sulpice. M. Garnier when settled at St. Mary's soon accommodated himself to the new atmosphere. He was a gifted linguist and when, twelve years later, he returned to France, he spoke and wrote the English language well. He soon made many friends at Baltimore, and no member of his theological faculty so captivated Bishop Carroll as M. Garnier. On the other hand, the latter became very fond of his American surroundings, and when M. Emery recalled him to France, in 1803, he honestly confessed that to comply with the call was to tear asunder many ties and many friendships which bound him to his new home. It was not without a struggle that he returned to Paris, but, like his brethren, M. Garnier knew no compromise in a question of duty. When he read the letter of recall to Bishop Carroll, the latter suggested that he might with a good conscience remain at Baltimore, since M. Emery had not bidden him return by virtue of his vow of obedience. Garnier made haste to reply, "But, Monseigneur, the Sulpicians do not take any vows and our superiors do not give any commands." A few weeks later he was in Paris.

During the years (1791-1803) that M. Garnier spent at St. Mary's his professorial work was not very absorbing. As we know, students were lacking at the seminary. But Garnier was a man of energy and hated idleness. He was a conscientious professor of philosophy. We learn from his correspondence that he was an active worker on the missions. The very year after his arrival at Baltimore, the bishop entrusted him with the task of organizing St. Patrick's congregation at Fell's Point, near the harbor of Baltimore. This is still one of the most populous parishes in the city. Bishop Carroll was so much

ques Protestants, Paris, 1791; a "Life of M. Olier," 1818. He translated Hay's "Miracles" and "Devout Christian," Butler's "Feasts and Fasts," Challoner's "Catholic Christian Instructed," etc.

pleased with his work that he wished to take him away from the seminary altogether. But to this M. Emery objected, and M. Garnier, who was a born student, devoted himself to his studies. Besides a student of philosophy, he was a Hebrew scholar, and much of his leisure time at Baltimore we may infer was given to perfecting his knowledge of that language. After his return to Paris, Napoleon's Minister of Worship offered him the Hebrew professorship at the French University. But Garnier was too loyal a Sulpician to be tempted. He preferred to teach Hebrew at the Seminary of St. Sulpice. A young and vigorous scholar and teacher like Garnier was an ideal man for a young institution. On the one hand, he was inspired by love of learning and of teaching; on the other hand, he was a very practical man.

On his return to France he became M. Emery's most confidential friend and his constant companion at St. Sulpice. The old superior understood his man well. Garnier was a man of a very practical turn, and when Emery looked about for a man to whom he could safely entrust his personal fortune he chose M. Garnier, and made him his sole heir. He could not have made a better choice. It is refreshing to read the executor's account of how he baffled both Napoleon's Minister of Worship and Cardinal Maury, the Archbishop of Paris, when they sought to do Garnier and the Sulpicians out of the furniture of St. Sulpice and the property at Issy. It is hard to say whether he is entitled to more credit for his shrewdness or for his firmness. At all events, no native American could have done better than this attractive, scholarly French Orientalist, who earned the gratitude of many generations of Sulpician students by saving for them their attractive home at Issy. Garnier had quite a reputation as a humorist, and at Paris, in Sulpician circles, many an amusing story is still told of him.

M. Garnier's departure from the United States did not extinguish his interest in the American Republic and least of all in the seminary with whose early fortunes he had been so closely associated. He not only kept up his American friendships, but was deeply interested in the progress of St. Mary's.

Two years after his election as superior-general in 1827, he sent M. Carrière to Baltimore as his visitor, or special representative, of whose activity we shall have occasion to speak hereafter.

M. Jean Marie Tessier was selected by M. Emery to be the third member of the new Baltimore faculty. Like M. Garnier, he remained at the seminary permanently, never leaving it even during the two or three years when no students were there. He was more closely associated with its history than either M. Nagot or M. Garnier, for, having become the head of the seminary after M. Nagot's resignation in 1810, he ruled its destinies until 1829. He was the treasurer or *économé* of the institution, and as such had much to do with the domestic order of the house. His office, of course, required his constant presence at Baltimore, even when there were no students at the seminary. His work at Baltimore included classes in both moral and dogmatic theology. Whether he taught any other branches, such as liturgy or sacred music, we do not know, though it is likely enough, and we may with much probability assign Sacred Scripture to M. Garnier. But M. Tessier, who was in his thirty-fourth year when he came to the United States, was no more inclined to be a drone than were MM. Nagot and Garnier. At Bishop Carroll's request and with the approval of M. Emery he, too, devoted much of his time to outside work. We find him interested in such work even after the stagnation period of St. Mary's ceased, and M. Tessier had assumed the direction of the seminary in succession to M. Nagot.

The missionary work with which M. Tessier's name is most closely connected, and which in fact gives him a special place in the history of the Catholic Church in the United States, was the care of the colored people in Baltimore. In 1801 there were in that city quite a large number of colored Catholics who had come thither with their French masters from San Domingo and other West Indian isles. Their unfortunate position appealed to the good Sulpician professor. He devoted himself to their interests, and made them a part of the congregation of St. Mary's chapel and worked for them heart and soul.

Finally it became a special negro parish. Even after his elevation to the presidency of the seminary he continued to be deeply interested in their welfare. How greatly appreciated was his activity in St. Mary's Seminary in its early days appears from the fact that when M. Nagot resigned as superior in 1810, M. Tessier was designated as his successor.

Up to the year 1803, MM. Nagot, Garnier, and Tessier practically formed the faculty of St. Mary's Seminary. At intervals, it is true, other Sulpician Fathers resided with them at Baltimore. Thus we find that M. Levadoux was at St. Mary's from 1791-92, and again from 1802-03. But to one who knows the customs of the Sulpicians it is more likely that M. Levadoux was a temporary guest in the house than a definitely appointed professor of the seminary.

M. Maréchal¹ taught theology at St. Mary's for a short time in 1799 and the same year taught philosophy at Georgetown. We may, therefore, safely assume that MM. Nagot, Garnier, and Tessier constituted the faculty of St. Mary's from its opening until 1803, the date of M. Garnier's return to Europe.

Having become acquainted with the governing body of the new seminary, we must now briefly study their work, and this all the more as we rarely meet elsewhere a picture of Catholic seminary life.

When on the point of sailing for Baltimore, M. Nagot received the instructions from M. Emery contained in our last chapter. The superior-general impressed upon the head of the American mission the paramount importance of implanting in his American colony the spirit, the virtues, the traditions, and, as far as possible, the rules received by the Sulpicians from

¹According to the table in the "Memorial Volume of the Centenary of St. Mary's Seminary of St. Sulpice, Baltimore, Md.," M. Maréchal was at St. Mary's from 1792-1803. But this is contradicted by the article "Maréchal" in Appleton's "Encyclopedia of American Biography" and by passages in Shea's "History of the Catholic Church in the United States." The dates in the "Memorial Volume" are not altogether reliable. Similarly the dates of Bishop David's residence at St. Mary's are at variance with the statements of other authorities. For this reason, it appears likely that these gentlemen did not occupy the position of professor at the seminary at this time, though they may have made it their headquarters while acting as missionaries in Eastern Maryland or in Pennsylvania.



M. JEAN JACQUES OLIER.

their founder, M. Olier. These words were not wasted on M. Nagot. Not only was he M. Emery's loyal friend and lieutenant, but he himself was also a convinced advocate of these views. From the very day of the dedication of St. Mary's began the rule of M. Olier's spirit and regulation. We have already set these forth in a general way. What we propose to do here is to examine how the principles of St. Sulpice were set into action.

Our readers will remember that M. Emery had provided Bishop Carroll not only with a seminary and professors, but also with five students. These were to be the seed later to develop into the great seminary of Baltimore. Most of them had already begun their theological studies in various French seminaries. They had, therefore, been to some extent impregnated with the Sulpician spirit, and were well fitted to spread it in the new institution. Of course, this did not relieve the faculty of the chief burden so far as establishing its spirit and discipline. The vital basis of M. Olier's system is that the professors in the seminary should, so to say, be the elder brothers of the students, sharing their toils, partaking of their joys, and obedient to the same rules. In all but the purely intellectual domain they were to teach by example more than by word of mouth. They were to be the friends and brothers rather than the superintendents and watchmen of the young Levites entrusted to their care. Their own idealistic training and their characters as gentlemen made them unfit to act the part of detectives. Their relations and dealings with their protégés were at all times open and frank. They studied the characters of their students for the purpose of the better fitting them for the deeply responsible work of guiding their future flocks. They advised them and pointed out shortcomings; nor did they shrink from suggesting withdrawal from the seminary if they saw that the candidate for the ministry was deficient in earnestness, talent, or virtue. Their recommendation of a student to the bishop for ordination was not a mere routine act; it was always the result of careful personal observations and of charitable consideration, the charity extending not only to the candi-

date, but also to the congregations destined in the course of time to be entrusted to his guidance and government.

Seminary life was not merely nor even chiefly the life of a student. It was the training of a man willing to become the guide and helpmate of his fellow-Christians according to the designs of Providence. Therefore, the seminarian was not merely to study, but also to practise the virtues to instil which into his future parishioners would be the principal object of his life. They were to make good Christians by first being good Christians themselves. They were not to preach first, and to practise afterward, but to preach by practising. They were to teach respect for authority by submission to their superiors.

According to the rule of St. Sulpice, the young men entrusted to the care of the Fathers rise every morning at five o'clock, and this rule was carried out at Baltimore as soon as the institution had been organized. After dressing, they devote from three-quarters of an hour to an hour to meditation and then attend Mass. An hour or more is then given to study. Breakfast took place at eight o'clock. In France, after the fashion of the country, fifteen minutes sufficed for the Sulpician breakfast. In Baltimore the climatic conditions and American custom somewhat prolonged that meal. The dinner bell rang at twelve o'clock and tea was served in the evening at seven. Between a half hour and forty-five minutes were allowed for the former meal and about a half hour for the latter. Both meals were followed by an hour's recreation, while fifteen minutes were allowed for recreation after breakfast. The students, whether of philosophy or theology, had two lectures a day, one at nine o'clock in the morning, the other in the afternoon at three o'clock. Both lasted an hour. After the lecture the professor remained in the lecture room for a quarter of an hour to allow students to propose questions on points which they had failed to understand.

The seminarians could not absent themselves either from meals or from recreation without being authorized to do so by the superior of the house. While the physical needs of the young Levites were thus diligently cared for, their spiritual

wants were not neglected. Throughout the day their studies and their recreations were interspersed with short exercises of piety, which impressed upon them the fact that they were preparing to become in a special sense God's servants. Fifteen minutes before dinner they assembled in chapel for the examination of conscience, which was prefaced by reading a chapter from Holy Writ on their knees. At dinner a chapter from the Bible, the life of a saint, or some Church history is read, and, as is usual in religious houses, the martyrology, that is to say, a list of the saints whose feasts fall on the day. The after dinner recreation is closed by the recitation of the rosary. Before tea half an hour is devoted to spiritual reading, being explanations of the rules, or treatises on the Christian virtues.

The time not appointed to exercises of devotion, to meals and recreation, is awarded to class instruction and to private study, two hours daily being allotted to philosophy for the students of that science, and one hour each daily to dogma and to moral theology for the theologians. If we analyze this time distribution it will be found that every day eight hours, or one-third of the twenty-four hours, are given to sleep. Of the remaining sixteen, about three hours are assigned to prayer, four hours to meals and recreation and eight or nine to class and private study. This daily program, we are told by M. Icard, the superior-general of St. Sulpice in the eighties of the last century, in his interesting and instructive work entitled *Traditions de la Compagnie des Prêtres de Saint-Sulpice*, varies but slightly from the distribution of time in vogue in M. Olier's own day. As we shall see hereafter, M. Magnien, the superior of St. Mary's Seminary during the last decades of the nineteenth century, subdivided the subjects of study more definitely, and made some other changes. But at bottom the daily program of studies in Sulpician seminaries does not vary radically from that followed by St. Mary's students from its very foundation.

Besides these daily exercises there were others that were weekly or monthly. On Saturday before night prayers, and at the same hour on the eves of greater festivals, the young men assembled to listen to one of their fellow-students who delivered

a discourse on the Gospel of the following day, or on some other topic suited to the season. These discourses were subject to criticism by the professors. On Sundays and festival days the seminarians with their professors assisted at the high Mass, Vespers and Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament in the cathedral, and Bishop Carroll in some of his letters refers to the great impression made on the worshipers of the cathedral by the solemnity accruing to the cathedral services from the presence of the seminary professors. The rules of the institution require the seminarians to confess weekly. As to communion, there was no hard and fast rule. Students were expected to lead so virtuous a life that their directors would permit them to communicate very frequently. The entire body of rules, it is seen, was dictated by a spirit of manliness and common sense and inspired by a full appreciation of the lofty mission for which the young Levites were destined.

Such in the main were the regulations which governed the new seminary of the Society of St. Sulpice from the time when it was opened in October, 1791. There were only five students, if indeed there were so many, for of the five gentlemen selected by M. Emery to be the pioneers of St. Mary's, we find that only three were ordained there. At least two of these spoke English, perhaps also the third. Besides their regular studies they probably acted as instructors in English to their professors. Perribeau and Floyd were theologians, for they were ordained in 1794 and 1795, while Mondésir, who was a philosopher, was not ordained until 1798.

In 1792, St. Mary's received a new student in the person of Stephen Badin, who was to have the distinction of being the first Catholic priest ordained in the United States. He was born at Orleans in 1768, and while engaged in his theological studies was compelled to seek refuge in America from the terrors of the French Revolution. In 1793, a year after his arrival in Baltimore, he was ordained. The next year he spent at Georgetown teaching and perfecting his knowledge of English. Then he went to Kentucky and remained in the West during the remainder of his life, except during nine years, from

1819-1828, which he spent in Europe. In Kentucky he built a number of churches for the pioneer Catholics. He proved an equally successful missionary among the Pottawattamie Indians after his return from Europe. Withal, he was a man of literary tastes and was the author of the first Catholic book published in the West, entitled "Principles of Catholics." He also wrote Latin verse, several of his poems having come down to us.

The writer's friend, Father Charles Hippolyte de Luynes, S.J., who was professor of theology in Bishop Flaget's seminary in Bardstown during the thirties of the last century, and was himself a graduate of St. Sulpice in Paris, knew Father Badin in the West and spoke of him as a genial, clever man with no little Gallic wit. He was very popular among Catholics and non-Catholics alike. To Father de Luynes the writer is indebted for the following story, which is too good not to be recorded. Father Badin's Sunday missionary trips often brought him into contact with some of his Protestant confrères, who put up at the same inns as himself. Badin was a great favorite with them all and equally popular was his mare, which the old missionary had ridden for many years. One Saturday evening Father Badin came to a certain inn mounted on a new horse, and immediately two or three of his Protestant colleagues became solicitous and inquired for the priest's quadruped friend. Badin with every sign of grief told them that the mare was dead. One of the ministers thereupon hoped that Father Badin had given her Extreme Unction. The latter ruefully shook his head and declared with every sign of disgust that the old mare had become an apostate and turned Protestant. Badin died in 1853.

The second recruit who came to St. Mary's Seminary was the Russian Prince, Demetrius Augustine Gallitzin. He became a student of St. Mary's in November, 1792, and was ordained in 1795 under the name of Schmet or Smith, which was his incognito name when he arrived in America. He did not, as is sometimes stated, become a Catholic in Baltimore. He had taken this step five years before in 1787. He was a son of Prince Gallitzin, the Russian ambassador at The Hague, and

his wife, a daughter of the Prussian General von Schmettau. Both the Prince and the Princess grew up as Rationalists, but in 1786 the Princess became a Catholic, and later was the center of the Catholic literary circle in Münster, Westphalia. Prince Gallitzin, the son, after his ordination asked to be received as a member of the Society of St. Sulpice. His reception took place on February 23, 1795. Bishop Carroll insisted upon his going on the mission, and the Prince never rejoined the community. He founded various Catholic colonies in Pennsylvania, the best known of which, Loretto, exists to this day. His name became a household word in the mountainous districts of Pennsylvania and Maryland. Several biographies of the Prince have been published, one in German by Father Lemcke of Münster and one in English by Miss Sarah Brownson.

M. Perrineau, after studying two and one-half years at St. Mary's, was raised to the priesthood. According to the Memorial Volume of St. Mary's the year of his ordination is uncertain. We are better informed about the Rev. John Floyd, an Englishman and a convert, who was ordained in December, 1795, at the same time as Prince Gallitzin. He also proved to be a worthy son of St. Sulpice. Even before his ordination he had been associated with M. Garnier in his missionary labors at Fell's Point among the people of St. Patrick's congregation. After receiving Holy Orders he was appointed their pastor and built the first St. Patrick's Church, a very simple building, which was the precursor of the present St. Patrick's. Floyd's career was destined to be short but edifying. In September, 1797, he attended a parishioner prostrated with yellow fever and immediately afterward was stricken by the plague and carried off. At his own request he was buried in front of the church door, the first fruit of the Sulpician mission.

M. Mondésir, the youngest of M. Nagot's pioneer students, taught at Georgetown; he returned to St. Mary's in 1796, was ordained in 1798, exercised the ministry in 1801 and then returned to France, where he published some memoirs.

The first native American student who received Holy Orders

at St. Mary's Seminary was Father William Matthews (1800), the nephew of the Most Reverend Leonard Neale, the second Archbishop of Baltimore. In 1805 he became the pastor of St. Patrick's Church in Washington, a position which he held to his death fifty years later. In 1808 he was for a time the president of Georgetown College. He seems to have been interested in educational and literary matters throughout his long life. Of the four other alumni of St. Mary's, previous to 1808, two were Frenchmen, of whom we only know the date of their ordination, and one, Father Ignatius Brooke, was a Marylander. The fourth, Father Michael Cuddy, ordained in 1803, became the first resident pastor of St. Patrick's Church, at Fell's Point, where he died in 1804, a victim of yellow fever contracted while visiting the sick of his parish.

If it be true that during the first ten or twelve years of its activity St. Mary's Seminary had not many students, it is equally true that her alumni were men of character and a fair proportion men of distinction, of which their alma mater has every reason to be proud. The fact that a number of them were not only zealous missionaries but also men of literary accomplishments certainly bears witness to the scholarly spirit infused into them by their Sulpician teachers.

From 1803 to 1808 there is a gap in the list of St. Mary's alumni. Of its cause we have spoken above. Here we need only say that not only Bishop Carroll, but also the gentlemen of St. Sulpice themselves made strenuous efforts to procure students for the seminary. MM. Babade and Dubourg established St. Mary's College in Baltimore, the history of which we shall treat more at length hereafter. M. Flaget shortly after his arrival in America went to the West partly to investigate what prospects there were for a preparatory college in the old French settlements near the Mississippi. But the results were disappointing. In 1806 another preparatory seminary was established at Pigeon Hill, on a farm in Adams County, Pennsylvania, donated to the Sulpicians by M. Joseph Harent, a French gentleman who subsequently joined the Society of St. Sulpice. This institution, strictly reserved for young men

desiring to become priests, drew its scholars, some dozen in all, from the neighboring Pennsylvania Germans. Besides M. Dilhet, the venerable head of St. Mary's Seminary himself, Father Nagot, went there to instruct the boys in the elements of the classics and mathematics. When, however, a year or two afterward M. Dubois opened Mount St. Mary's College at Emmitsburg, the Pigeon Hill students were transferred there. Surely the American Sulpicians by these repeated efforts showed how thoroughly in earnest they were to meet the views of M. Emery and to create conditions promising a richer and steadier supply of students for the Baltimore Seminary. At all events, through their vigorous efforts and those of the bishop there came about a marked change for the better. According to the Abbé Gosselin¹ the seminary in 1804 had as many as twelve students and in 1806 seven tonsured students were promoted, the largest number thus far ordained at one time in the United States. The year 1808 was even more remarkable in this respect, for Bishops Carroll and Neale in that year promoted to the priesthood no less than six candidates, the former two at Baltimore, the latter four at Georgetown. It should be remarked that the four ordained by Bishop Neale after pursuing their studies for a time under the Sulpician instruction had joined the recently revived Society of Jesus. During the rest of M. Nagot's administration only two seminarians were promoted to the priesthood. But these last fruits of the good old superior's educational activity did no less credit to their teachers than their predecessors. Most prominent among them was Benedict Fenwick, one of the young men ordained at Georgetown, whose scholarship and activity proved a blessing wherever they found a field. The year after his ordination he aided Father Anthony Kohlmann, S.J., in his duties as vicar-general of the new diocese of New York. He was the mainstay of the New York Literary Institution, the first Jesuit high school in that city. Later on he became president of Georgetown College and gave a great impulse to its prosperity. Then he restored harmony and order among the quarreling Catholics of

¹Gosselin, *Vie de M. Emery*, vol. ii, p. 151.

Charleston, S. C., and after again administering Georgetown College he was appointed Bishop of Boston (1825) to succeed Cardinal Cheverus. As head of the New England diocese his influence was felt, from the Indian missions in Maine to the limits of the New York diocese, organizing parishes and building churches, so that at his death, in 1846, instead of the fifteen churches and chapels he found there in 1825, he left fifty to his successor. He had, moreover, built the well-known convent at Charlestown, which was burned by a mob of bigots, and established Holy Cross College at Worcester, Mass., at present the most flourishing Jesuit college in the United States.

Enoch Fenwick was another one of the four young Jesuits ordained by Bishop Neale at Georgetown. His merits may be inferred from the fact that he was president of Georgetown College in 1822. Of the secular priests, the best known was the Rev. M. F. Roloff, who was active on the missions in various places. After his ordination, having taught for some time at Pigeon Hill, he was sent to the German parish of the Holy Trinity in Philadelphia. Then he was noted for his activity in what is now West Virginia, at Martinsburg and Wheeling, and in 1841 we find him entrusted with the task of building the first German Catholic church in Boston, Mass. Father Roloff was a native of Bavaria. He was probably the first German American priest ordained in the United States.

In 1810, the last year of M. Nagot's administration, the only student ordained at St. Mary's was the Rev. James Hector Nicholas Joubert de la Muraille, the descendant of a noble French family. He had been driven from his native country by the French Revolution, and with his relatives had taken refuge in San Domingo. The revolution of the negroes in that island led to the massacre of the entire Joubert family. Young James Nicholas alone escaped and reached Baltimore in safety. There he entered the seminary, and after his ordination devoted himself to the service of the black race, many of whom, faithful to their masters, had fled with them to Baltimore. The difficulties of catechizing these poor people led him and Father Tessier, in 1828, to organize a little society of colored women

to aid in their instruction. They drew up a body of rules for them, which was approved by Pope Gregory XVI in 1831. In this way M. Joubert became the founder of the Oblate Sisters of Providence, which at present numbers some ten houses in the United States and in Cuba with a membership of about one hundred and forty nuns. The Rev. M. Joubert became a Sulpician and resided at St. Mary's Seminary to the end of his life.

We have seen that in 1803 M. Garnier, one of the most distinguished professors in the seminary, was recalled to France. To replace him came M. Jean Baptiste David, a Breton, born near Nantes, in 1761. After his ordination, in 1785, he joined the Society of St. Sulpice, and was professor of philosophy and theology in various French seminaries until the disorders of the French Revolution brought him to Baltimore in 1792. Bishop Carroll entrusted him with the missions in the lower part of Maryland, where he proved a zealous pastor of souls. He, it is said, was the first to preach retreats to lay people in America. In 1804 he was called to St. Mary's Seminary, and remained there until 1811, probably attending to most of the work which M. Garnier had done until 1803. Another distinguished Sulpician who was connected with the seminary during this period was the saintly M. Flaget, subsequently Bishop of Bardstown, Ky.

The institution during these years was, therefore, in excellent hands, and quietly but effectively grew in strength and numbers. In one particular only St. Mary's was at a disadvantage. M. Nagot, since his return from Pigeon Hill or Friendly Hall, was failing in health, having passed the traditional three score and ten and never having recovered completely from his paralytic stroke in 1795. Age was now dealing harshly with the venerable superior's diminishing reserve of strength. As the years wore on he more and more felt the ravages of time. Unwilling to cling to an office for which he was conscious he had no longer the strength, he determined to place the interests of St. Sulpice on younger and more vigorous shoulders. Accordingly, in 1810, he resigned his office as superior and became a simple inmate of the house which he governed so wisely, so loyally, and

so gently for nineteen years. He continued to dwell at St. Mary's, revered and cherished by all his brethren, whom he loved, and who loved him, and to be for them an example of piety, simplicity, and devotion to duty until he was called to his reward in the year 1816.

CHAPTER IV

ADMINISTRATION OF M. JEAN MARIE TESSIER, 1810-1829

M. Jean Marie Tessier was the successor of M. Nagot as superior of St. Mary's Seminary (1810). Every consideration of wisdom and expediency pointed him out as the man to take up the first superior's work. He had been associated with M. Nagot from the very foundation of the seminary. He was still in the vigor of his strength, having reached the age of fifty-two years. From the first he had been appreciated by Bishop Carroll for his admirable qualities of character and learning and for his practical views of things. We find his name associated with the bishop's on such occasions as the opening of the first Synod of Baltimore in 1791 and the blessing of St. Patrick's Church at Fell's Point in 1792. He always retained the bishop's confidence, which he had gained thus early. He was thoroughly familiar with the temporal needs and resources of the institution, for from the beginning he had been its treasurer and business manager. Of the original professors, now that M. Garnier was in Europe and M. Nagot was shelved by age, he was the only one left. His appointment was, therefore, almost a necessity. M. Tessier was a man of vigorous physique, sturdy and robust. His prominent, substantial nose, his thin and drawn lips, and round face suggested a man of determination. He was a serious but a kind and affable face. On the whole it inspired confidence in his good will as well as in his power to protect those committed to his care.

In 1810 besides M. Tessier the only Sulpician at St. Mary's was M. Jean Baptiste David, whose name is inseparable from that of the great Bishop Flaget, and who became the latter's coadjutor at Bardstown. He was a rotund, good-natured Breton, whose learning was equaled by his piety. But he was not destined to stay with M. Tessier for a long time. In 1812, at the request of M. Emery, he accompanied Bishop Flaget to Bardstown, and was the chief pillar of the Bardstown Seminary for many years. His place at St. Mary's was taken in 1811 by M. Ambrose Maréchal. This gentleman, who became the third



M. JEAN MARIE TESSIER.

Archbishop of Baltimore, was a native of Ingres, near Orléans, born there in 1768 or 1769. He at first studied jurisprudence, but his pious disposition led him to the seminary and finally induced him to join the Society of St. Sulpice. When, in 1792, the horrors of the Revolution drove him, before he could say his first Mass, to seek refuge in the United States, he seemed at first destined to be a missionary. But he was naturally a student, and soon we find him at Georgetown College as professor of philosophy. Thence he was sent to take charge of the Catholics some twenty miles away from Baltimore. The exact place is unknown. M. Emery recalled him to France in 1803. There he was active as professor of theology at St. Flour, Aix, and Lyons until Napoleon suppressed the Sulpicians shortly before his fall. So it came about that in 1811 he was made professor of theology at St. Mary's, Baltimore, and during the next five years became the principal professor of theology there. He was eminently fitted for the place not only by his theological learning and his virtues, but also by his loyalty to his adopted country. How well his patriotism fitted him to inspire the young clergymen who were to instil love of country into the minds of the future Catholic citizens of the United States, we may infer from his bold and vigorous opposition to the interference of foreign prelates in the administration of the American Church. We have in view here the attempts in this direction, at Norfolk and at Richmond, Va., about 1818 and 1820. M. Maréchal's success at the seminary was so great, and the impression he made so marked, that he was appointed coadjutor to Archbishop Neale, who, in fact, died before the Bulls creating M. Maréchal his assistant, with the right of succession, arrived in Baltimore. When they finally came, M. Maréchal was forthwith consecrated Archbishop of Baltimore, and so the seminary lost the services of this distinguished and able Sulpician. His place was taken by M. Louis Regis Deluol, who was professor of theology until the arrival of M. Frédet in 1831. M. Deluol had taught theology at the seminary of Viviers after the suppression of the Sulpicians by Napoleon. When, however, the Society was reconstituted by Louis XVIII in 1814, M. Deluol

was admitted as a member and shortly afterward was sent to Baltimore. He took hold of his new duties with great energy, and soon was master of the English language. He became quite an orator, as appears from the fact that he delivered the funeral oration of Archbishop Whitfield, October 21, 1834. He was also the preacher at the Synod of Baltimore, held November 8, 1831. M. Deluol proved to be a man of great practical and administrative talent, which led to his being named superior-general of the Sisters of Charity at Emmitsburg, a position he filled so well that even after resigning this office, in 1829, he greatly influenced the government of the Sisterhood. M. Deluol was a distinguished scholar and an able teacher, and so during the administration of M. Tessier St. Mary's faculty though small was efficient and successful.

In the last chapter we saw that about 1804 there was an increase in the number of students who attended the seminary. This does not mean that about this time the attendance at the seminary grew to great proportions. A large number of theologians was not desirable, because the number of Catholics in Bishop Carroll's diocese was still very small. Moreover, the great diocese of Baltimore was divided in 1808, and other clerical seminaries sprang up in different parts of the country. But after the accession of M. Tessier as superior of the seminary there was an uninterrupted stream of candidates for the priesthood. In the nineteen years during which he governed the institution, forty-eight priests were ordained according to the "Memorial Volume of the Centenary of St. Mary's Seminary" (p. 49 ff). The largest number of ordinations took place in 1819, namely five, while in the years 1813, 1816, 1822, 1823 only a single student was raised to the priesthood. The yearly elevations of alumni to the priesthood suggest that the stream of students if not great was steady. The component elements of St. Mary's candidates for the priesthood were quite representative of the Catholic population of the archdiocese and its suffragans. Among the forty-eight young men who completed their studies there under M. Tessier we notice some fourteen whose names suggest Maryland descent, such as Elder, Wheeler,

Jamison, and Knight. This shows that the old Maryland families had lost none of their devotion to the Church, and that they still formed a strong factor in the ecclesiastical life of the archdiocese. We count nineteen Irish names, some of which, of course, may belong to the old Maryland stock, but most of whom probably belong to a more recent immigration. The seven German students in all likelihood were the offspring of the old German Jesuit parishes in Pennsylvania, which had remained under the pastoral care of the old Fathers even after the suppression of the Society. As the French students seem to have been all, or for the most part, native Frenchmen we can not go far wrong in assuming that they were drawn to Baltimore by the influence of the Sulpician Fathers, and this inference is confirmed by the fact that several of them afterward joined the Society of St. Sulpice. Even the convert element in the population of the new Republic was duly represented by such men as Samuel Eccleston and Samuel Cooper, both of whom were scions of old Protestant families. The student body at St. Mary's was truly catholic in the number of nations represented, and catholic in the feeling of charity which bound them all in one harmonious community. MM. Tessier and Deluol achieved this remarkable result not only by the exercise of their authority, but, perhaps, even more by their gentleness, and by the spirit of M. Olier, whose watchword was peace and love.

What contributed not a little to the harmony and success which characterized the seminary was the fact that the institution was the home of industry and work, and was animated by the spirit of scholarship and love of literature. The number of scholars, Catholic and Protestant, at this time to be found in the United States was naturally small, and one of the great difficulties with which all American institutions of higher learning struggled was the lack of scholarly teachers. Even in the older colleges we often find young Bachelors of Arts promoted to professorships with surprising rapidity. The Catholics, who had been tolerated only since the year of Independence, suffered no less from this evil than non-Catholics. How Georgetown

was cramped in this particular we have already seen, and remarked that St. Mary's was retarded in its growth by the needs of Georgetown. In the same way, as we shall see hereafter, many of the graduates of Mount St. Mary's, Emmitsburg, and many of the students in its seminary were drafted to instruct the students in the lower classes of that institution. St. Mary's College had existed alongside of the seminary grounds since 1799. The history of the seminary makes it clear that the pedagogic work of its students was in some ways beneficial to these young men themselves. The authorities of the seminary saw to it that they were not overburdened with work, and the mental drill which is of necessity connected with the teacher's work was a decided advantage to them in their theological studies. It made them more critical in their own work and markedly advanced them in their mastery of the vernacular. As a consequence not a few of these student teachers afterward became skilful writers, and their acquirements enabled them in the contemporary journals and by the publication of scholarly books to contribute to the defense of Catholic doctrine and the instruction of the Catholic laity. Among the alumni of St. Mary's who were active in this field was Rev. George A. M. Elder, a Kentuckian, who was one of the editors of the "Catholic Advocate," published in Bardstown, Ky. He was also the author of a pamphlet entitled "Letters to Brother Jonathan." We may add that he was likewise the founder of St. Joseph's College, Bardstown (1820-23) and its first president. The Rev. Ignatius A. Reynolds, afterward Bishop of Charleston, was the editor of Bishop England's works. The most prominent Catholic litterateur in the United States in the first half of the nineteenth century was the Rev. Dr. Charles Constantine Pise, ordained at St. Mary's in 1825. He wrote not only a history of the Church in five volumes, but also several novels and a volume of poems. He was likewise the editor of the "Metropolitan" and the "Catholic Expositor." He has the distinction of having been the only Catholic chaplain of the United States Senate and was a great friend of Henry Clay.

That their teaching experience at St. Mary's remained a

lifelong inspiration for some of its alumni is evident by the zeal for the cause of education displayed by many of them. We do not claim that we have gathered the names of all the alumni of this period who deserve to be recorded as educators. We have already mentioned Father George A. M. Elder, the founder and first president of St. Joseph's College, Bardstown, Ky. Associated with him in this work was the Rev. William Byrne, a most enthusiastic apostle of education, who besides St. Joseph's founded several boys' and girls' schools in Pennsylvania. He died a victim of his devotion to his pastoral duties during the cholera epidemic of 1832. Another alumnus who was especially interested in education was the Rev. Michael F. Wheeler, to whom the Academy of the Visitation is indebted for many benefactions, and who remained its friend to his death, which, like Father Byrne's, was due to cholera. He had been president of St. Mary's College, Baltimore, from 1827-28. To the Rev. J. P. Clorivière, the Georgetown Academy of the Visitation owes an equal debt of gratitude. This remarkable man had fought the French Republic in the Vendée under Cadoudal. When this cause proved hopeless he crossed the Atlantic and determined to give the rest of his life to the Church. His eminent services to the Sisters of the Visitation have never been forgotten by them.

The Rev. John Larkin was ordained at St. Mary's in 1827. He was a native of Newcastle-on-Tyne in England, but of Irish extraction. He had been a pupil of Dr. Lingard at Ushaw, where Cardinal Wiseman was one of his fellow-students. Subsequently he had begun his theological studies at St. Sulpice in Paris and came to Baltimore to complete them. After his ordination he joined the Society of St. Sulpice, went to Canada, and had a great reputation as a classical professor. How closely he was associated with his old teachers is proved by the fact that when, in 1841, he thought of becoming a Jesuit he consulted his professor, M. Deluol, at Baltimore before taking the final step. As a Jesuit he was equally reputed as a scholar, an orator, and a wise and prudent administrator. He was the first president of the Jesuit high school in New York which afterward

became St. Francis Xavier's College (1847-49), and in 1851 became rector of St. John's College, Fordham.

Prominent among this galaxy of educators was the Right Rev. George A. Carrell, who died Bishop of Covington in 1868. After filling a chair at the University of St. Louis he was its president from 1845 to 1848. Between 1851 and 1853 he was president of Purcell Mansion College, Cincinnati. Dr. Charles Constantine Pise, of whom we have spoken above, was for some years professor at Mount St. Mary's College, Emmitsburg. Fathers Dampoux, Xampi, Hickey, and Harent joined the Society of St. Sulpice and rendered notable services to education at St. Mary's College, Baltimore. Harent, moreover, donated to the Society of St. Sulpice his farm in Pennsylvania, the farm on which M. Nagot founded the *petit séminaire* of Pigeon Hill or Friendly Hall. M. Chanche, who became the first Bishop of Natchez, after being a member of St. Mary's faculty for many years, served as its president 1835-1840.

M. Olier and the other Sulpicians, as we have said, looked upon the formation of a true Christian apostolic character as the foremost aim of their Society and of their seminary work. The aspirants to clerical honors and dignities were first of all to be filled with the spirit of charity and devotion to their flocks and their duties. The men that left St. Mary's during M. Tessier's administration by their lives and their work realized the ideals which their teachers placed before them. Throughout a great part of the United States, not only in Maryland and Kentucky and the South, but also in Pennsylvania and farther north, their lives constitute the annals of the Church. They were good, earnest missionaries and pastors, zealous teachers and founders of boys' and girls' schools when the opportunities of acquiring elementary learning were scant and difficult of access. We find them eager to help the sick and the poor by founding institutions of charity for the relief of every kind of human misery. They built hospitals and orphan asylums as well as churches. When those dreadful scourges, cholera and yellow fever, invaded our country they defied its terrors and unhesitatingly gave their lives for their

flocks, as we have seen in the case of Fathers Byrne and Wheeler.

But St. Mary's furnished not only the most of the parish clergy to the archdiocese of Baltimore and its suffragans. It also gave able, distinguished, and pious prelates to many sees in different parts of the Republic, who proved that their instructors understood not only how to train them in virtue and learning, but also how to develop in them the wisdom, foresight, and authoritative character which are indispensable to the good governor. Two of these prelates were not only pupils of the Sulpicians, but also joined the Society of St. Sulpice. These were Bishop Chanche of Natchez and Mgr. Eccleston, the fifth Archbishop of Baltimore. Bishop Chanche, after teaching at St. Mary's for twenty-three years, and serving as its president (1835-1840), and having twice refused the mitre, finally accepted the bishopric of Natchez, a see without church or priest. Here he not only built eleven churches and established thirty-two missionary stations, but introduced various Sisterhoods to take charge of the schools, academies, and orphan asylums which he founded. He died in 1853.

Mgr. Ignatius Chabrat, coadjutor of Bishop Flaget after being a zealous missionary in Kentucky, directed for some years the famous convent of Loretto. The loss of his eyesight caused him to resign as bishop.

The Rev. Ignatius A. Reynolds was an unusually able and energetic priest. After proving himself a faithful missionary, an inspiring teacher and an eloquent orator in his native diocese of Bardstown, he became president of Bardstown College. Nearly fifty years afterward I heard his old friend, Father Charles Hippolyte de Luynes, S.J., who during the fourth decade of the last century was professor in Bardstown Seminary, speak of him with unbounded admiration. He was the first Catholic pastor of Louisville, where he founded an orphanage and where he subsequently became vicar-general. As Bishop of Charleston, S. C. (1844-55), he gained the love and respect of Catholics and non-Catholics, so that he was scarcely less popular than Bishop England had been.

Of Bishop Carrell, who became a member of the Society of Jesus before he was raised to the see of Covington, we have already spoken. After his elevation to the episcopacy he proved himself a vigorous administrator, building churches, establishing schools, founding hospitals and orphan asylums, and building St. Mary's Cathedral in little more than two years. The most distinguished prelate sent forth by the Baltimore Seminary during M. Tessier's term was the fifth Archbishop of Baltimore, the Most Rev. Samuel Eccleston. Born in Kent County, Maryland, in 1801, Dr. Eccleston became a Catholic while a student of St. Mary's College, and after his ordination, in 1825, continued his theological studies at Issy, near Paris. He then joined the Society of St. Sulpice, became a member of the faculty of St. Mary's College, Baltimore, and finally its president (1829-34). As Archbishop of Baltimore he not only watched over the interests of education and looked after the German Catholics, who were unable to speak English, but secured a more perfect system in the government of the Church by holding five provincial councils. He regulated the relations of the Church to the State by settling the mode of transmitting Church property from bishop to bishop, and established the principle that a State divorce is not valid before the tribunal of the Church. In short, Dr. Eccleston was universally regarded as the model of a wise, watchful, scholarly, and patriotic prelate, an honor to the old Maryland stock and to the men who had reared and trained him in virtue and religion.

No further words are needed to convince the reader that under M. Tessier St. Mary's was an eminently useful institution; that its professors were men markedly fitted to train students in learning and virtue, and to develop in them all those qualities of mind and morals which made them useful men, useful to the Church and useful to the State, able to advance the cause of education, of literature, of civic order, and of religion. To achieve this result was the purpose of the daily work of both professor and student. But all the energy of M. Tessier was not spent within the four walls of St. Mary's Seminary. The Sulpician Seminary and especially its head stands in a pecu-

liarly close relation to the bishop of the diocese, who is in fact as well as in theory the supreme head of the seminary. One of the chief preoccupations of the leading men in St. Sulpice had, therefore, always been to gain the confidence of the ordinary of the see and to aid him in every manner. M. Tessier did not neglect this duty. His was fortunately so attractive a character that he won for himself the hearts of Archbishops Carroll and Neale, as well as the good will of his brother in St. Sulpice, Archbishop Maréchal. On occasions of great solemnity he and his brethren of the seminary appeared as part of the suite of the archbishop. When, in October, 1821, Archbishop Maréchal went to Europe, M. Tessier acted as administrator in his absence. It was the Sulpician superior that blessed St. Peter's Church in Washington (November 4, 1821) and the Chapel of the Convent of the Visitation. M. Tessier seems also to have been the right hand of Archbishop Whitfield of Baltimore, who appointed him his vicar-general. He had then acquired a competent knowledge of the English language, for at the Synod of Baltimore, held November, 1831, he was one of the official preachers.

Of course, all the students of St. Mary's were not authors, college presidents, and archbishops in embryo, but the proportion of men of character and ability was very high, and the remainder of the seminarians were good men, conscientious, industrious, and intelligent, all of whom proved worthy laborers in the vineyard of the Lord and brought honor to themselves and their alma mater. The community life of such a company was fully as attractive as it was laborious. Tastes were created and satisfied that gave joy and consecration to the rest of their lives. Friendships were contracted which neither time nor separation could tear asunder, and these friendships included not only the fellow-students but the professors. Life was restful and happy, but not tedious or monotonous, and every year made the institution more useful and more promising.

There were occasions, however, when St. Mary's felt unusual life and hope pulsate in her veins and when the gay colors of progress and festivity adorned her halls and the outside world,

too, participated in her triumph. Perhaps the most distinguished of these festive occasions was celebrated on January 25, 1824. On that day Archbishop Maréchal, who some time before had paid a visit to the Holy Father and asked him to make his seminary a university, as the representative of Pius VIII, solemnly conferred on St. Mary's Seminary the rights and privileges of a university. The celebration took place in the cathedral, and was graced not only by the presence of the diocesan clergy and the students of the seminary, but also by many citizens, Catholic and non-Catholic, and by the entire body of the students of St. Mary's College. Various congratulatory addresses were delivered, among them one in Latin by a senior of the college which attracted much attention on account of its taste and scholarly diction. The young orator was Samuel Eccleston, destined later to become Archbishop of Baltimore. The new university without delay exercised its rights and conferred the doctorate of theology on the vicar-general of the diocese, later Archbishop Whitfield; on M. Deluol, professor at the seminary, and on the president of St. Mary's College, Baltimore, M. Damphoux. The following year all the seminary with its students took part in the public Fourth of July celebration, at which the Rev. Mr. Eccleston, only lately ordained, had been invited to say the opening prayer.

Notwithstanding the constitutional modesty of the Sulpician Fathers, therefore, their merits had been appreciated not only at Rome, but also by the non-Catholics in their new country. No doubt, no one was more delighted with the progress of the seminary than the venerable superior, M. Tessier. St. Mary's is still in possession of M. Tessier's *Époques du Séminaire de Baltimore*, and of his diary recounting the incidents that he thought noteworthy in its history. It is not difficult to sympathize with the joyous notes with which we meet in its pages.

No doubt the administration of M. Tessier, so far as the government of St. Mary's Seminary goes, was eminently peaceful and prosperous. But as superior of St. Mary's he had also the supervision of the other Sulpician institutions which had sprung up since the beginning of the century, that is to say, of

St. Mary's College, Baltimore, of the Pigeon Hill *petit séminaire*; and for several years at least of Mount St. Mary's College, Emmitsburg. The history of these institutions we shall give more fully in our following chapters. Here it will suffice to say that the financial affairs of these institutions had given much care and anxiety to the gentle superior, whose years had now reached the traditional three score and ten. The superior-general of the Society of St. Sulpice at this time was M. Garnier, who had himself been a member of St. Mary's faculty and who had always retained a warm interest in the American institution, where he had spent some dozen or more very happy years. To him M. Tessier confided these difficulties, and he besought the superior-general to come in person to Baltimore in order to regulate matters. This was in the year 1829 when, after the death of Louis XVIII, things were shaping themselves in France for the July Revolution of 1830. Under the circumstances, M. Garnier could not think of leaving Paris, but he felt that M. Tessier's request should not be entirely ignored. He therefore sent a representative in the person of M. Carrière, who arrived in Baltimore in 1829, and immediately set about investigating the condition of the Sulpician Society in the United States. This enabled M. Tessier to transfer his office into the hands of the visitor. When, on October 4, 1829, the first Provincial Council of Baltimore was opened, M. Tessier was one of its most prominent members, not as superior of St. Mary's, but as its dean. As such the burden of his work as superior was taken from his shoulders, and we find him thereafter frequently accompanying Archbishop Whitfield on his visitations. In fact, as the archbishop's vicar-general, he took part in the Synod of Baltimore, 1831, where he was one of the prominent orators, and accompanied the prelate in his visitation to Richmond. When his duties as vicar-general did not call him away from Baltimore, he resided at the seminary as before and continued his pastoral work in connection with the seminary chapel. He was a popular confessor and spiritual director; tradition has it that he had more than two hundred regular penitents, many of them colored, whom he had served

for more than thirty-one years. Thus after his demission he led an active and useful life at his old home, popular both inside and outside of the seminary.

On March 16, 1840, M. Tessier was seized by a fever, which forbade his saying his daily Mass. The following day, St. Patrick's feast, Father Deluol, who had attended him from the beginning of his illness, found his condition much worse. Two days later, on St. Joseph's day, he peacefully passed away after receiving all the consolations of religion at the hands of Father Deluol. The mourning in the seminary, the college, and in fact in the entire city was general, and the funeral ceremonies most solemn. Archbishop Eccleston himself sang the Requiem, and Father Deluol in his funeral oration proclaimed the many virtues of the departed Sulpician and the services he had rendered to St. Sulpice, to the archdiocese, and to the Church.

CHAPTER V.

ST. MARY'S COLLEGE, 1805-1830.

The education of young men for the priesthood is and always has been the primary end of the Society of St. Sulpice. The gentlemen sent to Baltimore by M. Emery in 1791 were intended to found and direct a clerical seminary. On their arrival at Baltimore they supplied the personnel needed for such a seminary, the buildings, and the outfit. But they could not provide the students. Accordingly, the Sulpicians who were sent to the United States in 1792 subsequently, with M. Emery's consent, were sent to work on the American missions both East and West. In fact, M. Emery had no choice; these were the days of the bloody Terror. Eighteen men of his small Society were guillotined or otherwise put to death. Belgium and Western Germany were threatened with invasion by the *sans culottes*; Spain was swarming with exiled French priests and the hospitality of England, a Protestant country, was utilized to the utmost. The United States afforded a vast field for clerical work. But only a few men could be of use for the purpose of ecclesiastical education. Priests were needed, but candidates were lacking. Bishop Carroll had established Georgetown College in 1789 partly with a view to supply candidates for the ministry. But the Catholics of the United States were few and, therefore, but few students could be expected at Georgetown and very few seminary students could be expected from that college. Indeed, the pressing need of instructors at Georgetown absorbed those of its graduates who had clerical aspirations. If Georgetown could furnish no clerical students to St. Mary's, where were they to come from? The position was such as necessarily to suggest self-help to the Sulpicians. They must provide their own students by providing the preparatory institutions of higher education. These might be of two kinds: either such as trained only aspirants to the priesthood, that is to say, *petits séminaires*, or such as gave higher education in general. Students of the former kind are usually supported by the diocesan authorities, while students of the latter sort

support or at least contribute to the support of their colleges or academies. In 1791, and as we shall see for a long time after, neither the bishop nor the Sulpicians had the pecuniary means to support a *petit séminaire*. There were no endowments extant nor any to be expected. The few American Catholics were not overburdened with wealth and there were endless appeals to them to provide for their most pressing spiritual needs. If the Sulpicians were to make an effort to supply the students for their seminary it must be by creating self-supporting institutions, that is to say, colleges or academies whose students paid for their own tuition. This meant that the colleges must be open not only to future students of theology, but to students who sought higher education for any purpose. To have any seminary at all, the most of the Sulpicians in Baltimore before long saw that they must establish general colleges or academies. To refuse to do so would be to pour out the baby with the bath. Only reluctantly did they open their eyes to this necessity.

If the Sulpicians hesitated to open colleges on principle, Bishop Carroll did not favor their opening colleges on grounds of expediency. His Georgetown College was as yet a feeble infant, and its supply of food was not too plentiful. Any further colleges would threaten to deprive it of some of its needed nourishment, so both the bishop and the Sulpicians, especially M. Emery, shrank from founding more colleges. But necessity knows no law. The students of St. Mary's, few from the beginning, grew less and less, and the seminary which was expected to supply a nation with priests consisted of empty halls. The Sulpicians at first made timid experiments. Only a year or two after their arrival at Baltimore, when they had overcome to some extent their ignorance of the English language, they gathered about them some boys living in the neighborhood of the seminary and began to instruct them in the rudiments of academic learning. It soon became apparent that without a systematic plan nothing could be achieved.

MM. Flaget and Richard tried what could be done among the French in the Middle West. Failure was the result. About 1796 or 1797 circumstances suggested the possibility of em-

ploying the surplus of the French Sulpicians in another part of America. These hopes were held out from the island of Cuba, where a member of the Society, M. Babade, had found his way from Spain. He had become convinced that that country held out no hopes of useful activity to the exiled members of his Society. At Havana things looked smiling and hopeful. He was warmly received by many of the prominent colonial families, who stood ready to entrust their children to him and his confrères. Accordingly he wrote of his prospects to M. Nagot and invited him to send to Havana some of the members of St. Sulpice who could be spared in the United States. At the time, M. Nagot foresaw that M. Dubourg and M. Flaget, the former of whom had been president of Georgetown since 1796, and the latter vice-president, would be open for other work in 1798. Accordingly he communicated to them the news of M. Babade's plans at Havana and left them free to go to Cuba on a reconnoissance. Both men were ready to join M. Babade in Cuba and examine the prospects.

We must here make our readers acquainted with the Rev. M. Dubourg, who was the founder of St. Mary's College. Louis William Valentine Dubourg was born at Cap François in the island of San Domingo in 1766. When he grew up he was sent to France for his education, and having determined to devote himself to the service of the Church, he entered the *petit séminaire* connected with St. Sulpice. After his ordination, by M. Nagot's advice, he was placed in charge of the classical school at Issy. During the early days of the French Revolution his life was threatened and he fled to Spain. But as in the case of M. Babade, Spain soon proved an uncongenial place of refuge. Accordingly, M. Dubourg turned his eyes westward, and in 1794 reached the United State as a secular priest. He was received with open arms, not only by Bishop Carroll, but also by his French fellow-exiles, the Sulpicians of St. Mary's. He naturally felt himself drawn toward them. In 1795, therefore, M. Nagot received him into the Society of St. Sulpice. M. Dubourg from the first made a most favorable impression on Bishop Carroll, so that only two years after his arrival in

Baltimore the bishop confided to him the presidency of his favorite institution, the College of Georgetown, where M. Flaget, later first Bishop of Bardstown, Ky., was his lieutenant as vice-president. M. Dubourg was an attractive personality. His manners were most sympathetic. He was a gifted orator and a good scholar, and during his administration of Georgetown College there was a marked increase in the number of students. But for reasons unknown to us he was withdrawn from Georgetown in 1798, and then it was that, in accordance with M. Nagot's suggestions, he resolved with M. Flaget to make an attempt to establish a college at Havana. M. Babade was already in Cuba. The prospects seemed bright, for some of the most prominent Cuban families were ready to entrust their boys to the Sulpicians. But suddenly the sky became overclouded. The Sulpicians were Frenchmen, and the Spanish Government, which habitually excluded even native Cubans from any places of trust in the island, refused to permit the French priests to found a college in Havana. M. Dubourg, therefore, prepared to return to Baltimore, but not before he had arranged, both in Havana and in Baltimore, to take with him to the latter place a number of the Cuban youth who were to have become students of the Sulpician College in Havana. Without delay, therefore, in 1798, M. Dubourg returned to the United States with his charges, whose number is usually given as a dozen, though some documents speak only of three. M. Flaget was then struggling with an attack of yellow fever and had to be left behind. In fact, he did not return to Baltimore until 1801, when he brought with him twenty-three young Cubans, who became students of the new Baltimore academy. The boys brought to Baltimore by M. Dubourg were lodged in St. Mary's Seminary, which afforded abundant room for them.

Their arrival did not wholly please Bishop Carroll. Notwithstanding the more promising aspect of the future of Georgetown College, it was still a very weak plant. What would be its fate if the Sulpicians established a rival college at Baltimore? Experience could not enlighten him as to the answer, and the good bishop was not a little alarmed. However, the Sulpicians

had been at considerable expense in fetching and housing the Cubans. They had lost the property at Bohemia at first assigned to them, and invested the greatest part of their French savings in the Baltimore property. Manifestly they must be treated with consideration and fairness. So the prelate agreed to the temporary establishment of the new academy. It was made a condition, however, that no American students should be admitted, and that even the number of West Indians should be limited. According to the "Memorial Volume" of St. Mary's, Bishop Carroll had first allowed only twelve students to be admitted to the academy, but later extended this number to twenty-five.

This arrangement proved satisfactory for the time being. A goodly number of boys came in from the West Indies. M. Flaget, in 1801, brought back twenty-three from Cuba, where he had remained after his convalescence from yellow fever. Others must have come both before and after. If we may trust the biographer of Bishop Flaget in "Appleton's Biographical Dictionary," who declares that the Baltimore academy was crowded with West Indians, the number of scholars at the academy must have been quite large. We may infer this also from the fact that when the Spanish Government in 1803 required the return of the students to Havana, it was necessary to send a man-of-war for them. The same conclusion follows from the fact that many years afterward, in 1812 and in 1817, when the college was in financial difficulties, M. Harent was sent to the West Indies and collected quite a large amount of money due the Baltimore Sulpicians for unpaid student fees.

Meantime, the existence of the budding academy was threatened from another quarter. M. Emery, as appears from his letter of August 9, 1800 (Gosselin, vol. ii. p. 102), in view of the bishop's objections to the establishment of the Baltimore academy, withdrew whatever consent he had given to its foundation. At the same time he seems to have regarded the bishop's opposition to a Sulpician academy as a bar to any plan of self-help on the part of his Society, and therefore as a kind of sentence of death to the seminary itself. Meanwhile, affairs had taken a

turn favorable to the Church in France, and M. Emery foresaw that he could usefully employ all the men of his Society in the mother country. In 1801, therefore, we find him issuing a recall to the American Sulpicians, against which the bishop remonstrated most earnestly. The correspondence between Bishop Carroll and M. Emery grows warmer and warmer, while the position in Baltimore grew more and more unpleasant. Buildings had been put up for the academy by M. Dubourg, as his Cuban protégés had been quartered in the seminary building, and additional accommodation of a temporary character provided on the seminary grounds. But M. Dubourg was not a man content with half measures. He had excellent taste, and the new edifice was spoken of with admiration, though on the other side there were not lacking persons who criticized his lavishness. M. Emery seems to have shared the views of these critics, while Bishop Carroll regarded M. Dubourg's tendency to couple the ornamental with the useful as a constitutional and quite pardonable foible. When these new buildings were completed, at considerable expense, it was announced that the academy was about to lose all, or a greater part, of its students. The Spanish Government had ordered the West Indian boys to leave Baltimore without delay. This was in 1803. But the darkest hour of the night is that immediately preceding the dawn. So it proved in this case. We have seen how M. Emery accepted the advice of Pope Pius VII and abandoned all thought of withdrawing his Society from the United States. About the same time Bishop Carroll agreed to open the Sulpician academy to American students. "In the fall of 1803," says the "Memorial Volume," "it was announced that the doors of St. Mary's College would be open to all American students, day scholars or boarders, without distinction of creed. Many boys at once flocked to the institution. . . . The number of pupils in 1806 amounted to one hundred and six. Additional buildings had then been erected and others were in progress."

But this was not all. Owing to the manifest merits of the Sulpician academy, it had gained for itself not only the hearts of the Baltimoreans and Marylanders, both Catholic and Prot-

estant; it had likewise gained the favor of the governor and Legislature of the State.

It seems proper here to glance at the condition of higher education in Maryland at the beginning of the nineteenth century in order to realize the position of the new Sulpician college among its fellow-institutions. This will enable us also to appreciate the advantages and disadvantages with which it had to contend and the causes of its rapid progress. In drawing this picture, we shall take as our guide Dr. Bernard C. Steiner's "History of Education in Maryland," published by the United States Bureau of Education in 1894. The chapters from which we shall draw chiefly were written by Basil Sollers.

The physical configuration of the State of Maryland did not favor the spread of learning in colonial times. The land is too much cut up by hills and streams, and the population was too thin and sparse to make it possible to find sites fit to be centers of school activity. Even district schools for elementary education were hardly feasible, for a district containing enough children to warrant the opening of a common school took the proportion of a county. In fact, many of the more prosperous colonists kept tutors or governors for their children, while the less fortunate but more zealous taught their children themselves. The General Assembly of the State early made efforts to establish county schools, but these efforts frequently resulted in paper institutions of quite formidable proportions. While little is said of elementary learning, the learning called for was usually instruction in moral philosophy, the learned languages, and mathematics, the latter being generally entrusted to the writing-teacher. This description fits most of the county schools which were created by acts of the assembly prior to the War of Independence. Even at the end of the war, which left the State coffers empty and the people's means slim, there was no immediate change for the better. The Assembly was busy in grinding out educational laws. Unfortunately it was kept so busy that it is quite apparent that as these laws did not execute themselves, they died a natural death and each Assembly had to repeat the benevolent legislation of its predecessor. How-

ever, from all the medley of educational legislation it appears that two institutions soon outstripped their rivals and acquired considerable distinction. The first of these was Washington College, located at Chestertown, on the eastern shore of Maryland. It was the creation of the Rev. Dr. William Smith, who came to Chestertown in 1780, formed a class and combined it with the Kent County School in 1782. The resulting institution had one hundred and forty scholars. It was by resolution of the Assembly duly created a college. Its faculty consisted of a president, a vice-president, and professors of natural philosophy and logic. Besides these three men of learning, whose names are given, two tutors and a French teacher are spoken of. The name of only one of these can be found; he had been the principal of the Kent County School.

The laurels gained by Washington College on the eastern shore, made a great impression on the people of the western shore. These felt them as a challenge, which was duly accepted. In 1784, the Annapolis School, an institution similar to the Kent County School, was duly erected by law into St. John's College. It seems not to have been organized until 1789. But this did not prevent the Maryland Assembly of 1785 from combining St. John's College and Washington College into the first University of Maryland. When St. John's was organized, on August 11, 1789, its board of visitors and governors, presided over by Bishop Carroll, elected Dr. John McDowell professor of mathematics and the Rev. Ralph Higginbotham professor of languages. The former became principal immediately after the formal opening of the college, on November 11, 1789, on which occasion Charles Carroll of Carrollton, who was one of the visitors and governors, was present.

Washington College always remained a modest institution of learning. The number of its students did not grow markedly. Ten years after its foundation the Duc de la Rochefoucauld Liancourt writes of St. John's: "The college is another very considerable building. It has an endowment of \$5,000, raised by certain duties of the State, such as licenses, fines, etc., but of the west part of Maryland only. There are a hundred scholars

there, and it is said that the masters of it are very good. The English, the learned languages, the French, the mathematics as far as astronomy, some philosophy, and some common law are taught there."

Of Washington College at the same time (1796), the same Duc de la Rochefoucauld Liancourt says¹: "The college building is in a deplorable state of decay, although it is not yet finished. There is no glass in any of the windows; the walls have fallen down in many places and the doors are without steps. Yet this is the second college of the State, in which there are only two. It maintains a president and three masters; the number of scholars, however, is not more than forty or fifty, though for \$16 all the branches of learning which are taught may be acquired. Boarders pay \$80 or \$90 for their board. Twelve or fifteen hundred dollars have already been expended upon this building. It is constructed on a plan large enough to receive five hundred students. The clergyman of the place received \$300 from his parish and \$800 and a residence as president of the college."

Washington and St. John's colleges maintained a more or less precarious existence at the first University of Maryland until 1805. Their halls were never crowded. But St. John's College at least numbered among its graduates and its students quite a number of men who became distinguished in the history of the State and even of the Union. Both colleges, as the Duc de la Rochefoucauld states, received at times subsidies from the Maryland Assembly, but these subsidies were mere trifles when compared with the costs of a modern college. The University of Maryland dragged on its nominal existence until 1805, when the Legislature "caused the suspension of St. John's College by withdrawing the State grant. This caused the death of the old university, and in 1812, though the old charter had never been repealed, the old institution was so thoroughly extinct that the Legislature chartered a new University of Maryland."²

At the time, therefore, when the Maryland Assembly created St. Mary's College in 1806, it was the only active collegiate

¹"Travels through North America," second edition, vol. iii, pp. 548-550, as reported in Steiner's "History of Education in Maryland."

²Steiner, "History of Education in Maryland," p. 70.

institution in the State. What was the nature and activity of the contemporary colleges in Maryland appears sufficiently from the scanty account we have given of them. Indeed, the records which modern investigators have been able to find are very imperfect. That the organization of the Maryland colleges was very simple can hardly be questioned. The curriculum usually included some Latin and Greek, some algebra and geometry, with lectures on ethical and sometimes religious subjects. That the very simplicity was in some respects an advantage appears from the distinction gained by so many of their alumni. No doubt, a few of the larger New England colleges may have been in a more developed condition than the Maryland institutions. But it is hardly rash to assume that these, as they claimed, were the peers of many of the American colleges. Our picture of these institutions, imperfect though it be, reveals enough of the conditions of higher education to enable the reader to form a just estimate of the work of St. Mary's College, to which we now return.

When in 1803 the doors of the Sulpician academy of Baltimore were thrown open to American students, it was expressly stated that there would be no distinction of creed. The perusal of M. Emery's correspondence convinces us that this policy was by no means in harmony with his idea of a Sulpician institution. But his home was thousands of miles from Baltimore, and he had not the means of judging what was possible or necessary in the premises. Pope Pius VII had consented to the admission of non-Catholic students, and this, no doubt, satisfied the old French superior-general.

However, the circumstances at Baltimore were such that if the Sulpicians were to have a college at Baltimore at all, it must admit non-Catholic students. Baltimore was then a small town, whose charter was only ten years old. In 1800 the entire number of its inhabitants was 26,000. The number of Catholics able to pay for the collegiate education of their children was quite small. In those days, it is true, professors were cheap, and \$800 secured the services of a college president, and the college students paid only \$16 a year, or with board \$80. The alter-

native presented was either, admit non-Catholic students, or have no college at all.

Besides, as we have already seen, the Catholics would naturally sooner send their boys to a Catholic college where Protestant boys were tolerated. The Catholics had been treated with no little consideration when St. John's College was founded, which, of course, on paper was several years before the establishment of Georgetown College. Bishop Carroll was not only a trustee, but at one time chairman of the Board of Trustees. On the same board we find the names of Nicholas Carroll, and of the Signer of the Declaration of Independence, Charles Carroll of Carrollton. Though the feeling of universal toleration was neither as general nor as strong as it is to-day, the philosophic and basic principles of Catholics and of other Christian denominations more nearly approached each other than they do at the present time. This can be proved in a striking way from the first commencement program of Washington College, held Wednesday, May 14, 1783:

"Dr. Smith opened the exercises of the day with prayer, afterward with a Latin oration to the learned and collegiate part of the audience, as custom seems to have required. The candidates then proceeded with the public exercises, as follows: (1) A Latin salutatory oration by Mr. John Scott. (2) An oration in French by Mr. James Scott. (3) A Latin syllogistic dispute: '*Num æternitas pœnarum contradicit divinis attributis?*' Respondent, Mr. Charles Smith; opponents, Messrs. William Barrol and William Bordley. (4) An English forensic dispute: 'Whether the state of nature be a state of war?' The speakers were Messrs. John Scott, William Barrol, William Bordley and James Scott. (5) Degrees were conferred as follows: Upon Messrs. Charles Smith, James Scott, John Scott, William Bordley, and William Barrol, the bachelor of arts; and upon Samuel Kerr, one of the tutors in the grammar school, honorary A.B., and upon Mr. Colin Ferguson and Mr. Samuel Armor, professors in the college, the honorary degree of A.M. (Mr. Armor was already an A.M. of the College of Philadelphia.) (6) An English valedictory oration,¹ which concluded with a striking and prophetic poem on the progresses of the sciences

¹This oration was printed in full in the *Maryland Journal* for July 8, 1783.

and the growing glory of America, by Mr. Charles Smith. (7) The principal closed the exercises with a pathetic charge to the graduates respecting their future conduct in life, and what was expected of them as the eldest sons of this rising seminary."¹

From all this it follows that when M. Dubourg, with the consent of MM. Nagot and Emery, embarked on the scheme of founding an academy at Baltimore to be opened not only to future priests but to Catholic and Protestant students generally, he did so because it was Hobson's choice. They must make the venture or withdraw from the educational field altogether. M. Dubourg set to work with skill and vigor. His success proves that he had the loyal support of Bishop Carroll, and that the Catholics of Maryland had great influence with both the governor and the Legislature. St. Mary's College in 1805 received its charter endowing it with all the rights and privileges belonging to similar institutions in the United States or in foreign countries. Not satisfied with this, the General Assembly in 1806 granted to the newly chartered college the privilege of holding a State lottery, the proceeds of which, not to exceed \$40,000, were to be expended for the benefit of the new college. It was enacted at the same time that the trustees of St. Mary's College were to guarantee its maintenance for at least thirty years. This clause, at first sight somewhat mysterious, appears natural enough when we bear in mind that the first Maryland University had existed less than twenty years. It should likewise be remarked that the raising of monies by state lotteries was not an uncommon expedient at this time in Maryland.²

The records we possess of the beginnings of St. Mary's College are naturally somewhat scanty, but they are nevertheless well worth studying. Let us bear in mind that prior to 1805 it existed as a mere academy and chiefly as an academy for West

¹Steiner, "History of Education in Maryland," p. 77.

²1807. Lottery of \$40,000 for the Medical College. (Steiner, "History of Education in Maryland," p. 119.)

1817, June. Rev. Mr. Cooper authorized to arrange a lottery to raise \$30,000 for Washington College. (Steiner, "History of Education in Maryland," p. 84.)

1821. The Legislature allowed St. John's College to raise \$80,000 by lottery. \$20,000 was realized and invested as a College fund. (Steiner, "History of Education in Maryland," p. 96.)

Indian boys. The number of students was limited to a dozen or at most twenty-five. To teach this little flock, besides the president, M. Dubourg, occupied the time and the efforts of three priests and one layman, and the priests were all men of distinction. They included, besides the future Bishop of New Orleans, Dubourg, the future Bishop of Bardstown, Flaget, the future head of the seminary, M. Tessier, and M. Babade, who for twenty years or more taught Spanish and was, so to say, the patron of the Spanish-American boys. The laymen, MM. Guillemin and Aymé, who taught each for one year only, were Frenchmen, as were all the Sulpicians, which makes it likely that a large percentage of the students were French West Indians. This is confirmed by the names of the students which have been preserved, such as Dubourg, Pagot, La Reintrie, Meynadier, Le Batard, Cottineau, De Mun, Basile, and so forth. The year 1803 brings us a new order of things. Such names as O'Brian, Lipp, Clark, Wilson, Burns, Brent, and Digges indicate that the academy was no longer an exclusively West Indian institution, but had become strongly Americanized, the students coming not only from Baltimore and Maryland, but also from Pennsylvania, Washington, and Ireland. Some of the names also suggest that their bearers were probably non-Catholic. If we call to mind that three or four teachers were the usual allotment of the Maryland county schools, the number of instructors at the Sulpician academy, which from the start numbered four or five, for from twelve to twenty-five boys, proves that the pupils were not neglected, so far as their instructors went, and their subsequent careers convince us that these instructors were men not only of merit but of distinction. These facts must have become generally known, for in 1806, three years after St. Mary's was opened to American students, and had been raised to the dignity of a university, the number of students had risen to one hundred and six and the number of instructors to ten. Of these, six were laymen and four priests, all Sulpicians except one, the Rev. M. Paquet. The latter, however, was deeply interested in the welfare of the new college, for he remained there for many years, and in 1812 became its president, a position

which he filled for three years. M. Paquet felt himself quite at home among the gentlemen of St. Sulpice and soon acquired quite a reputation in Baltimore for his merits as a scientist. Another instructor, whose reputation as a mathematician secured many friends and scholars for the college, was M. de Cheigné, who was a member of the college faculty from 1806 to 1825. He had been a sea captain, but had not found his true vocation until he became professor of mathematics at St. Mary's College. He evidently felt himself thoroughly at home in his new sphere, and he evinced his loyal attachment to his Sulpician colleagues by making them the heirs of all he possessed at his death.

A further study of the records of St. Mary's College as laid down in the "Memorial Volume of St. Mary's Seminary," informs us that as long as M. Dubourg remained at its head, that is to say, until 1812, the college continued to grow both in the number of its professors and in that of its students. Of the former there were now twelve, but we can not give the exact number of the students. The proportion of laymen in the faculty continues about the same, that is to say, about half of the faculty consisted of clergymen and half of laymen. As the number of American students increased, we notice that the faculty acquires professors with English surnames, such as Mullen, Graham, Woods, Sinnot, and Fenwick. Evidently these gentlemen taught the English literary subjects, while the classics and mathematics remained in the hands of the French instructors. M. Babade, we are informed, taught Spanish from the very inception of the academy until 1820. As M. Babade was not the only Spanish teacher at the college we must infer that among its students there must still have been a fair percentage of Spaniards, and that the Spanish language was a desideratum among the patrons of St. Mary's. At all events, a comparison with the history of other colleges proves without doubt that St. Mary's College was in advance of most of them, so far as the teaching of modern languages goes.¹ Indeed, its courses seem to

¹It will be of interest to note that as early as 1814 there was a clamor in the United States for college education without Latin or Greek. An advertisement published in a Baltimore paper in 1814 gives the views of the authorities of St. Mary's College on this topic at that early date: "It has

have been both thorough and broad, if we judge by an account of the curriculum taken from a Baltimore newspaper of September, 1818. An analysis of this document shows that the class hours at St. Mary's at the time covered six and a half hours daily, the college sessions lasting from the first Monday in September to the middle of July. A modern grammar school or college proposing such a program to its students would hardly escape a strike, especially in view of the fact that the boys of a hundred years ago had to sit in class six and half hours a day, whereas at the present time four to four and a half hours are prescribed as the maximum. This time was apportioned to the several studies very differently from the modern distribution. Colleges of those days knew nothing of sociology, economics, and political science, sciences apparently so called on the *lucus a non lucendo* principle. Even history is missing from the curriculum and moral philosophy is the only philosophical study mentioned. On the other hand, the program demands a great deal of solid, hard work. An hour and a half a day is given to mathematics, an hour and a half to Latin, an hour and a half to English, Modern Languages, Science, and Greek, and the rest of the time to various other subjects, including higher mathematics, natural philosophy, rhetoric, geography, and the use of the globes. Even writing, drawing, music, and dancing are provided for. Some time during the day an hour or so was devoted to study in a large hall especially assigned for the purpose. The Latin course seems to have embraced six years, an hour and a half a day; the Greek three. The students seem to have acquired a competent knowledge of the former language, for they not only delivered Latin discourses at their commencements, but some of them are mentioned as the writers of occasional Latin verse.

Though the gentlemen of St. Sulpice were for the most part hitherto been a regulation of the college that no student should be admitted but upon the condition of learning Latin. The president and the directors are determined to maintain and promote, as much as is in their power, the study of that language, as the basis of a literary education. However, they daily receive so many applications for pupils who want to be dispensed with the aforesaid rule, that they will admit students to follow at their choice English, French and Spanish, geography and the use of globes, practical arithmetic, mathematics in their branches, and natural philosophy." (August 1, 1814.)

natives of France, they were too good pedagogues to neglect the study of English. Several of the professors at St. Mary's, between 1810 and 1830, are mentioned as capable instructors in English Literature, for instance, Messrs. Doyle, Hickey, and Sinnott. At this time it may not be useless to remind our readers that the study of English Literature did not form a prominent feature in the programs of most American colleges, and St. Mary's is probably in this respect rather in advance of the usual American college curriculum.

In American colleges much importance has been attached to the yearly commencement exercises. Indeed, it may be said that in some respects they have been quite characteristic of the spirit and aims of American academic institutions. Fortunately, we possess the programs of some of these exercises at St. Mary's during the second decade of the nineteenth century. They greatly differ from the proceedings now in vogue, especially at the more ambitious colleges, where commencements are gradually being reduced to the awards of degrees and honors. A hundred years ago, several days were sometimes devoted to the strictly collegiate exercises, without taking into consideration the reunions of students and graduates and their societies. At St. Mary's College in the year 1816, the commencement exercises were of a very varied character. We copy from a contemporary newspaper account:

"On the 16th instant (1816) the usual experiments of natural philosophy took place at St. Mary's College. Some fireworks practiced with the inflammable gases had a brilliant effect; a small balloon of hydrogen gas was launched and soon disappeared, taking its course to the north. A larger one took fire. In the afternoon the following orations were delivered: On the Advantages of Natural Philosophy, by William de St. Martin; On the Fine Arts, by Thomas Middleton; On Eloquence (in Latin) by Robert Ross; On Chivalry, by Enoch Magruder; On Astronomy, by Charles de Chapotin of Savannah. Afterward the degrees of A.B. were conferred on the above gentlemen and the degree of A.M. on Jasper Y. Smith, Edward Coleman, W. Howard, F. J. Didier, James Mosher. On the following afternoon two dialogues were spoken: 1st. Moderation in our pur-

suits. 2nd. Inconveniences of a Spirit of Mockery. Then Colonel Howard delivered the premiums."

Of the commencement in 1813, we find the following account:

"In presence of a numerous assembly, the following gentlemen delivered orations: Mr. Ebenezer Jackson of Savannah on The Influence of Governments on Literature; Mr. Woodrop Sims of Philadelphia on The Advantages of Society; Mr. H. M. Byrne of Pennsylvania on Moral Philosophy; Mr. Charles Carroll of Hagerstown on Traveling; Mr. William Kemper Sitgraves of Philadelphia on Painting and the Fine Arts; Mr. W. H. Brent Sewall of Prince George on Patriotism. The degree of A.B. was then conferred on them and the exercise was concluded with an address and prayer by the president."

We may add that other reports show that it was a regular custom to give one day to a species of public examination, in which special stress was laid on science and scientific experiments. We can readily conceive that at the time when science was mostly confined to the laboratory and when the application of physics and chemistry was not to be found in every highway and byway, ascents of hydrogen balloons must have called forth no little sensation. Of course, the college enjoyed much scientific fame, and this lasted as long as it existed. MM. de Cheigné and Paquet were well-known scientists in the beginning of the century. M. Vérot, another of St. Mary's scientific professors, afterward Bishop of St. Augustine, Fla., was a well-known scientist toward the middle of the century. He corresponded with Professor Henry of the Smithsonian Institution and other notables of that period.

An examination of the subjects of the discourses delivered at these commencements show that the young Ciceros spoke on academic themes rather than on live political questions. To-day we find our colleges crowded with embryo statesmen who settle the most knotty international questions by the most cocksure assertions, dispensing them from all scholarly investigation.

A hundred years ago St. Mary's Seminary did not, as at present, lie in the middle of the city, but formed a part of the sub-

urbs of Baltimore. The students were boarders, probably even the Baltimoreans who attended the college. The class hours extended to as late as six o'clock. The students rose at half past five o'clock, had morning prayer in common and Mass at six, followed by an hour and a half of study, succeeded by a recess and breakfast at a quarter past eight. Dinner was served at half past one o'clock and was preceded by a half an hour's recreation.

In those simple days few attractions tempted the boys to seek their amusements outside of the college grounds, theatrical performances being rare and opera unknown. Not even baseball caused any infraction of college discipline. We must not, however, underestimate the importance of the chief disciplinarian or prefect of discipline, as he was called. Men like the future Bishop Flaget and M. Joubert laid the basis of their renown as disciplinarians at St. Mary's College.

As we have seen, the studies extended from the beginning of September till past the middle of July, leaving only six weeks of vacation. During the vacations most of the boys went home, but when their homes were too great a distance, the college took care of them during vacation also. Most of these vacation students were West Indians. The way in which they spent their holidays illustrates Maryland life a hundred years ago and also the relations existing between professors and students. Though situated in the suburbs of the town, St. Mary's was not sufficiently rustic for the summer residence of the vacation boarders. Fortunately for the boys Pigeon Hill or Friendly Hall, the former home of the Harents, after its consolidation with Mount St. Mary's, or Emmitsburg, in 1808, offered its hospitable doors to them. MM. Tessier and Deluol in their diaries have left us the story of the vacation joys of St. Mary's West Indian boarder students. We condense their accounts:

On the set day, the boys, in charge of some of the instructors and Fathers, and accompanied by a variety of dogs and guns, took their seats in the private stages which were to take them to Friendly Hall, in Adams County, Pa. Their arrival was a gay day for the neighborhood. The neighboring farmers welcomed the college boys and showed themselves quite hospitable.

Once settled down, the boys had a fine time, though they were not altogether free from the pedagogue's yoke. They rose an hour later than at Baltimore, breakfasted and dined longer, but had to study and work the greater part of the forenoon. We find no program for the afternoon, which means that the boys spent it in their own way. Their chief sport seems to have been hunting and their principal playmates the dogs. They roamed north and south from Pigeon Hill, accompanied by their faithful hounds, and sometimes they must have gone to a considerable distance. On one occasion, M. Tessier records that the dogs returned after two days' absence, having probably gone as far as the Susquehanna River. The boys were expected to follow the dogs.

While gunning was the chief, it was not the only, sport. Fishing, of course, filled the leisure hours of the men who had no desire to become Nimrods. To both fishermen and Nimrods the fruits of the country were legitimate booty. At times they also harnessed the horses and tended the cows. Of course, some of the prefects always accompanied the young hunters as policemen. The boys were not allowed to enter any houses, whether public or otherwise. They received strict instructions controlling their general behavior; for example, the boys must not enter towns or go to swimming-places except when accompanied by one of their teachers. The gunners must not take any guns but their own nor lend their guns to any one else. They must not fire at horses or other animals nor injure the crops by marching through the fields. They must carry their guns with care, and never, even in fun, point them at any one else. These jolly vacation amusements continued until 1847, when Friendly Hall was sold. About the same time a summer-house was built on the grounds of St. Charles College, but probably the sports at the latter place could not be compared with the Pigeon Hill experiences. One thing is certain, the farmers who dwelt in the neighborhood of Pigeon Hill greatly enjoyed the students' visits, and their pranks are spoken of in Adams County to the present day.

Such was college life and discipline at St. Mary's College

about a hundred years ago, and such the spirit which animated the institution. As in their seminaries the Sulpicians strove to be the equals, and as much as possible the brothers, of the seminarians, so at the college they ruled and taught in a spirit of mutual confidence and *bonhomie*, a spirit, however, which never failed to impress on the scholars the earnestness of the work before them.

Of M. Dubourg's popularity we have already spoken, as well as of his good nature. With these qualities he coupled an impressive dignity, which did not fail to lay stress on externals. The college buildings which he reared were not only solid and lasting, but in their day they were the handsomest academic buildings in Baltimore. In fact, some of his Sulpician brethren thought that they were too attractive, or what is more to the point, too expensive. M. Emery thought it necessary to clip Dubourg's wings in this direction. But Bishop Carroll, probably with an amused recollection of the old mediæval principle that every being acts in accordance with its nature, was of the opinion that the president of the college could not avoid doing what he did. At all events, M. Dubourg's policy impressed parents and attracted students and the college grew apace. When in 1812, in accordance with Bishop Carroll's recommendation, the government of the new diocese of New Orleans passed into the hands of M. Dubourg, St. Mary's was out of its infancy. M. Paquet, the secular priest, who succeeded M. Dubourg, was thoroughly acquainted with the college and its needs. He understood the spirit of its patrons and was, moreover, a scholar of scientific tastes. Accordingly, the college maintained its high reputation and especially continued to draw many non-Catholic students, as will have been seen from the commencement programs which we have placed before our readers. In 1815 M. Paquet retired and the Rev. Simon Bruté, a Sulpician, took his place. Bruté was a remarkable man. A native of Rennes (born March 20, 1779) and the son of a government official, he early lost his father and grew up under his mother's guidance. She was a woman of sense, who amid all kinds of financial troubles carefully watched over young Simon's education.

The young man felt himself drawn to the medical career and received his doctor's degree in 1803 with quite unusual honors. Meanwhile, a change had come over his spirit, and soon after his graduation as a physician he determined to give up his worldly prospects and become a priest. He, therefore, placed himself under the direction of the Sulpicians at Paris, where he was ordained in 1808. Napoleon desired to make him his court chaplain, but for Bruté court life had no charms. He joined the Sulpician company, and was appointed professor of theology at Rennes. In 1810 he met Bishop Flaget of Kentucky, who was then traveling in Europe. The bishop had little trouble to induce Bruté to come with him to the United States, and accordingly, in 1810, we find him taking his place among his Sulpician brethren at Baltimore. In 1812 he left St. Mary's and proceeded to the newly founded Mount St. Mary's College, at Emmitsburg, where he stayed until 1815. In that year he was placed at the head of the Baltimore college, in succession to M. Paquet. Bruté maintained the spirit and policy which had so far characterized St. Mary's, as we may infer from the commencement program from the year 1818. At all events the college continued to flourish under him. But in the following year he was called to Mount St. Mary's, Emmitsburg, to become, by the side of M. Dubois, one of the mainstays of that institution. The headship of St. Mary's thereupon passed over to M. Damphoux, who ruled its fortunes for the next eleven years.

That the condition of the college was very promising in 1819 can not be doubted. The number of instructors had risen to twenty, of whom twelve were priests and eight laymen. In 1829, the last year of M. Damphoux's administration, the college faculty maintained the same figures, the lay and clerical elements being fairly balanced. We may, therefore, assume that there had been no loss in the number of students. If we suppose that the proportion of instructors to students remained the same as in 1806, the students must have numbered a little more than two hundred, which may be rather below than above the true figures.

Having obtained from our imperfect sources as good a pic-

ture of life and work at St. Mary's College as they afford, it is time to turn our eyes toward the faculty and the students. We have already seen that the Sulpician college was not behind other academic institutions in Maryland, so far as the number of instructors is concerned. Indeed, from the beginning it could hold its own against contemporary Maryland institutions. By 1820, twenty instructors were active in the college, not counting the occasional help it received from the seminary faculty.

Of the first and second presidents we have already spoken. They were both men of more than fair executive ability and M. Paquet had, moreover, a deserved reputation as a scientist. The third president, the Sulpician Simon Gabriel Bruté, was not only a trained French scientist and a thorough theologian, but also a gentleman who wherever duty placed him showed himself a man of tact and capacity. Unfortunately circumstances called him away from St. Mary's to Emmitsburg to assist his friend, M. Dubois, and M. Edward Damphoux became president of St. Mary's. As is proved by the fact that the degree of Doctor of Divinity was conferred on him by Rome in 1824, he was a good scholar, and his remaining at the head of the college for eleven years is evidence that he was not without administrative talent. However, during the last years of his rule at St. Mary's differences of opinion seem to have arisen between him and some of his confrères. In 1827 Father Wheeler for a time took his place as president. But failing health led to his withdrawal, and M. Damphoux resumed the presidency. When M. Carrière came from France, in 1829, as the representative of the superior-general, M. Garnier, M. Damphoux resigned the presidency of St. Mary's, and left the Society of St. Sulpice. He was appointed rector of the Baltimore Cathedral, which position he filled for many years.

Among the professors who during this period shed luster on the faculty of St. Mary's were several men whose ability and vigor are guaranteed to us not only by their work at St. Mary's, but also by their careers as distinguished prelates after their departure from its academic halls. MM. Deluol and

l'Homme were promoted to the presidency of St. Mary's Seminary, which made them superiors of the American Sulpicians. We shall have occasion to speak of them hereafter. MM. Eccleston and Chanche were raised to the episcopacy, the former becoming the fifth Archbishop of Baltimore and the latter the first Bishop of Natchez. Archbishop Eccleston was both an elegant Latin and English scholar and a fine speaker, while Dr. Chanche was a good classical scholar and an authority on rhetoric. Father Wheeler, who was the president of St. Mary's, 1827-1828, was a practical man, as appeared from the help he had given the Sisters of the Visitation in Washington. He proved his moral fiber when, in 1832, he laid down his life for his principles during the great cholera epidemic. Father John Larkin, in after life a well-known Jesuit scholar and preacher, won his spurs as a professor when a Sulpician at St. Mary's. We must not forget the names of the Sulpicians J. Randanne and E. Knight, who adorned St. Mary's faculty for more than twenty-six years each. The lay professors F. G. Foster and William T. Kelly also were members of the faculty for many years. Mariano Cubi y Soler, professor of Spanish after M. Babade's retirement, was the author of a Spanish grammar.

The system of drawing the teachers for the lower classes from the students of the seminary continued in force during this period. In fact, it was even extended. From the general prosperity of the institution, we may conclude that this system had no evil consequences for the college.

Even more interesting than our survey of the life and studies of St. Mary's and of the character and doings of the faculty, is a study of its students. It is regrettable that no contemporaneous pen has sketched for us the composition of this heterogeneous but characteristic gathering of young Americans. Our chief source of information is the list of the students in the "Memorial Volume of the Centenary of St. Mary's Seminary of St. Sulpice," published in 1891. It is a valuable historical document and perhaps unique of its kind.¹ It offers to us much

¹It is to be remarked, however, that the editing of this list leaves much to be desired. The same name occurs two and three times and is spelled in as many different ways. However, there are no evidences of lack of good faith.

food for reflection and suggests many problems. It illustrates the character of the population of the Southern States, and to some extent of Pennsylvania during the first thirty years of the nineteenth century. Perhaps outside of Georgetown College and Mount St. Mary's, no American college has so kaleidoscopic a character. But whether Georgetown and Mount St. Mary's ought to be classed with St. Mary's, Baltimore, is doubtful. For in their case we have no document similar to this roster of the students of St. Mary's. It is certain, however, that our modern Catholic colleges in the East are in many respects a contrast to old St. Mary's. While in the former the names are homogeneous and for the greater part indicate that the ancestors of their bearers lived in the Green Isle, St. Mary's catalogue is very cosmopolitan. It is true we rarely meet with a Cuban, but there is no dearth of Mexicans and South Americans. French names abound, some belonging to French West Indians and others to Louisianians and others again hailing from Baltimore itself. We are struck by the frequent repetition of a Belgian name from the city of Brussels. It is the name of Seghers, afterward borne by the great Archbishop of Oregon, who was slain by his man attendant on the banks of the Yukon. Whether the Seghers of St. Mary's were related to the archbishop our catalogue does not say. We meet with quite a strong contingent of Germans, some, no doubt, direct importations from the Fatherland, while probably not a few are descendants of the old Catholic families of Pennsylvania. The North and East naturally contributed few students, though St. Mary's, Baltimore, was probably at the time of Catholic colleges the northernmost and easternmost. The reason is plain. There were at this time few Catholics in the Eastern States, and the Protestants were well supplied with colleges of their own.

Being entirely or for the most part a boarding-college, St. Mary's students numbered but few poor scholars. We find among them representatives of the best known families, Catholic and non-Catholic, in Maryland and the South. Prominent on the list are such Catholic Maryland names as the Carrolls,

and not only the Carrolls of Carrollton, but also the other branches of the family are represented here. Not less striking is the name of Jerome Napoleon Bonaparte, the first of the Patterson Bonapartes and son of the King of Westphalia. Whether the Henry Patterson, nearly contemporary with the Patterson Bonaparte, was a relative of his we can not determine. We meet with a Henry Chatard, no doubt an ancestor of the later Bishop of Vincennes. A Catholic college in Baltimore without representatives of the Jenkins family would have been an anomaly. Perhaps there is no more illustrious Catholic name contained in the list than that of Alexander Gaston of North Carolina, probably a relative of the great jurist of Newbern. The foremost Irishman in Baltimore at this time was Luke Tiernan.¹ Several of Mr. Tiernan's sons received their education at St. Mary's. Young Patterson Bonaparte, as we have seen, represented the imperial families of Europe. America's imperial representative was Angelo Iturbide, the son of Augustin, the first Iturbide of Mexico, who had lost his life and his throne a year or two before we meet his son Angelo as a student of St. Mary's. Angelo's son, Augustin, was adopted by Maximilian of Mexico. We notice also the name of the Nenningers, who figure as lay instructors at the college almost as long as it existed. Charles Boarman reminds us of the old Maryland Catholic Boarman family, several of whom were Jesuits in the olden time, and to which belonged Rear Admiral Charles Boarman. Andrew Bienvenue Roman, after filling divers other places of public trust, served two terms as Governor of Louisiana. He founded Jefferson College, did much to drain the neighborhood of New Orleans and protect it against overflow and was repeatedly a member of State constitutional conventions and a strong advocate of the Union.

Among the boys that sought their education in St. Mary's College in 1812 and the following years, was Edward Kavanagh of Damariscotta, Maine. In 1821 M. Tessier conferred on him the degree of M.A. in many complimentary words. Ed-

¹Our readers have made his acquaintance in vol. vi, pt. ii, p. 203 of "Records and Studies" in Mr. Meehan's interesting article on New York's First Irish Emigrant Society.

ward Kavanagh was destined to become the first Catholic governor in the New England States. After rendering many services to his native State as congressman and to the Union as Minister to Portugal, he became acting governor to the State in March, 1843. In 1831 we find that Mr. Kavanagh had not forgot his alma mater, for in M. Deluol's diary he records the fact that the Maine congressman dined with him.¹

The Catholic students of St. Mary's, therefore, include some very interesting names. The same is true of the non-Catholic students. We do not pretend that our selection is complete. We are not sufficiently familiar with all the distinguished Southern families and we are conscious that our list may be very defective. However, it is interesting. Let us begin with the well-known South Carolina families of the Pinkneys and the Rutledges, both belonging to the old Southern aristocracy of ante Civil War times. The name of the former Governor of Maryland, Warfield, occurs as that of a student between 1819 and 1825, and he was not the only Warfield among the alumni of St. Mary's. Twice or three times, we observe the name of the Pennsylvania Quakers, Ellicott, the best known representative of which family was the distinguished engineer and friend of Washington and Franklin; the first to determine the height of Niagara Falls, and whose name survives in that of Ellicott City. Among the students of St. Mary's from 1821 to 1823 was Benjamin H. Latrobe, son of the distinguished architect of the national capitol at Washington, as well as of the Baltimore cathedral, who was the scion of a Huguenot family which left France after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. Benjamin H. Latrobe was the worthy son of a worthy father. After being admitted to the bar, he turned his attention to engineering, became chief engineer of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, and was one of the consulting engineers on the board that approved the plans of the Brooklyn Bridge. In 1827 and 1828 and for some years afterward, Severn Teakle Wallis was a student at St. Mary's. He was a prominent figure

¹See article on Gov. Edward Kavanagh by Very Rev. Monsignor Charles W. Collins in "Historical Records and Studies," vol. v, p. 249 ff.

in Maryland literature and politics to his death in 1894. Besides being a frequent contributor to contemporary periodical publications he was an ardent student of Spanish literature, and his reputation as a Spanish scholar led to his election as a corresponding member of the Royal Academy of Madrid. A similar honor came to him from the Society of Northern Antiquaries of Copenhagen. During the stormy days which preceded the Civil War in Maryland Mr. Wallis was one of the champions of the anti-war party, and in consequence was imprisoned for more than fourteen months. Being set free without trial, he returned to the practice of the law and was honored in various ways by his fellow-citizens. He was named provost of the Maryland University in 1870, delivered the memorial oration on Chief Justice Taney in 1872. Besides a life of George Peabody, he published several works on Spain.

In the account of the commencement exercises of July 16, 1816, which we have already quoted, we met the name of Howard among the graduates. On the same occasion the premiums were distributed by old Colonel Howard, the hero of the battle of the Cowpens and of many other battles in the Revolutionary War. He had been Governor of Maryland from 1789 to 1802 and United States Senator 1803-1809. In short, the Howards were at this time one of the most prominent of Baltimore families, whose name is borne by a county in Maryland and a well-known street in Baltimore to this day.

Another Protestant student borne on the rolls of St. Mary's College at this time was Samuel Eccleston, a native of Kent County, Md., and a graduate of the year 1819. During his residence at the college he became a Catholic and subsequently a member of the company of St. Sulpice. We have already mentioned him several times as a distinguished scholar and orator, who in 1834 was appointed the fifth Archbishop of Baltimore. We shall have occasion hereafter to speak of his episcopal career, which lasted till 1851.

The chronicle of St. Mary's College which we have placed before our readers sufficiently establishes the fact that from its very foundation until the end of M. Damphoux's adminis-

tration, in 1829, the institution was a success. There may have been some financial difficulties at the start, but these were overcome and probably exaggerated. Neither the American nor much less the French Sulpicians at the time had any conception of the rapidity of the commercial growth of the new American Republic. In this regard Bishop Dubourg seems to have been in advance of his time.

From the academic point of view the merits of the college were undoubted. Compared with the older non-Catholic colleges the teaching staff was more than adequate. The proportion of students to instructors was less in Baltimore than in the other academic institutions of the State. The Sulpicians were good Latin scholars and some of them good Hellenists. In mathematics, too, and the sciences then taught at colleges they had several able men, like Bruté, Paquet, and Chevigné. French and Spanish, by force of circumstances, received unusual attention. We have seen that the old Sulpicians, while appreciating the classics at their full value, were no superstitious worshippers of Latin and Greek.

Hand in hand with this reasonable treatment of the curriculum went a rational, gentlemanly system of discipline, based on an appeal to self-respect and character and not on spying and terrorism. Their success in satisfying both their Catholic and their non-Catholic scholars is a proof of their fairness and justice. The Sulpicians were especially lucky in the character of their pupils. They were not a collection of self-conceited plutocrats or aristocrats, for Maryland, while boasting of the respectability of her colonists, had fostered no privileged classes and respected the ethical virtues more than wealth. Besides, the youth of those days, as well as their parents, had not lost the feeling that experience is the mother of wisdom, and that age is the guide of youth, not dreaming that youth is the director of old age.

The Sulpicians had the respect and attachment of their pupils, not only Catholic but also non-Catholic, though it may be remarked with interest that the Protestant students of St. Mary's, like the Protestant students of Kentucky, as Father Thébaud

tells us, rarely became converts. But their attachment to their old teachers was marked, and as long as St. Mary's existed its alumni rarely sent their children to any other college than their alma mater. Those were not the days of academic advertisement, but the Sulpicians unquestionably profited by the best form of academic advertising, the good will and the praise of their former pupils.

Such was St. Mary's College during the first half of its existence. It was the home of all the academic virtues. The favor, not only of its students and their friends, but indeed of all the State, Catholic and non-Catholic, promised greater and greater prosperity. The resignation of M. Damphoux was not the result of any financial crisis nor of otherwise untoward circumstances. It was not even due to a feeling that it was time for Americans to replace the French Fathers, although as a matter of fact M. Damphoux's successor was an American, M. Eccleston. We close our chapter here because M. Carrière's mission marks in a way the consolidation of the traditional policy of St. Sulpice and the beginning of a new period of prosperity.

CHAPTER VI

OTHER SUBSIDIARIES OF ST. MARY'S SEMINARY

St. Mary's College, Baltimore, as has been seen, was the offspring of necessity, the necessity to find students for St. Mary's Seminary and candidates for the priesthood. Even many years before the establishment of St. Mary's College, in fact within a year after the arrival of the first Sulpicians, they had gathered together boys likely to have a call to the priesthood who had lived in the neighborhood of the seminary. But the effort led to no practical result.

It was not long after the arrival of M. Nagot's party that M. Emery was convinced that to produce fruits, the Baltimore seminary must have feeders. Therefore, when, in 1792, he sent over the second party of Sulpicians, among them MM. Flaget and Richard, he instructed them if possible to start preparatory seminaries in the western missionary field allotted to them. In the same year, in a letter to M. Nagot, he bids him see to it that M. Flaget and the other Sulpicians sent to the West turn their attention to providing seminary students for Baltimore. The Sulpician missionaries in the West earnestly strove to carry out these instructions, but the Illinois soil proved to be a barren recruiting ground for the Baltimore seminary. In 1795 Bishop Carroll recalled M. Flaget from the Illinois mission and sent him as vice-president to Georgetown.

M. Richard, who went to the West about the same time as M. Flaget, had no greater success, though his zeal to carry out M. Emery's plans was no less than M. Flaget's. His activity covered not only the Illinois country, but extended northward to Michigan, where he settled at Detroit. We shall follow him thither hereafter. Here it suffices to say that his efforts to provide seminary students for Baltimore bore no fruit during the last decade of the eighteenth century.

While the attempt to secure recruits for the seminary among the French population of the West proved abortive, M. Du-bourg's tentatives at Havana and later in Baltimore turned out, as we have seen, equally unsatisfactory. St. Mary's College

was a flourishing institution, it is true, but it produced few or no vocations. Yet these repeated failures did not discourage M. Emery, and on M. Nagot, the veteran superior of the seminary at Baltimore, they acted as a stimulant.

Among the friends of the Sulpician Fathers in Baltimore was a gentleman from Lyons, a Monsieur Harent. Like the Sulpicians, he was a refugee, expelled from the land of his birth by the excesses of the Revolution. He must have saved some of his fortune, however, for after his arrival at Baltimore he had enough of means left to buy a farm in Adams County, Pa., in the midst of a Catholic German population. Here the gentleman from the south of France spent his summers. But being an intelligent and a pious man, he often asked Father Nagot to pass his vacation on his farm, which went by the name of Pigeon Hill. The winter months he staid in Baltimore. However, after the re-establishment of order in France by Napoleon, M. Harent felt homesick, and in 1803 he returned to France, leaving to Father Nagot his Pennsylvania farm. The superior of St. Mary's naturally thought this the very spot for a preparatory seminary. Pigeon Hill was a retired place, and lay in the midst of a Catholic population, which had preserved its Faith vigorous and earnest under the direction of the old Maryland Jesuits. The sons of the German farmers were zealous and enthusiastic. So M. Nagot felt that Pigeon Hill was an ideal site for a Sulpician *petit séminaire*. He resolved to put his hand to the plow himself, and in 1806 began the experiment. His pupils consisted only of boys who felt a vocation for the priesthood. Of such candidates, he found about a dozen among the German farmers scattered throughout the neighborhood. For two years the veteran professor of theology and philosophy undertook to teach the rudiments of Latin to the sons of these German farmers in Pennsylvania. M. Roloff, himself a German, was his assistant, and perhaps one or other seminarian from Baltimore also aided him. Studies flourished at Friendly Hall, as the new institution was called. Nevertheless, it was not destined to last. In 1808 M. Nagot returned to Baltimore. Pigeon Hill had been given up or

rather consolidated with a new institution, Mount St. Mary's College, Emmitsburg. Of the students of Pigeon Hill three became priests, namely, Messrs. Moynihan, Schoenfelder, and Wheeler. We have repeatedly spoken of Father Wheeler elsewhere.

Of all the collegiate institutions founded by the Sulpicians, Mount St. Mary's College, Emmitsburg, is the only one which still exists. When we say "collegiate" institutions, we mean institutions not restricting their work to the education of candidates for the priesthood. Still, Mount St. Mary's at its origin was intended, no less than Pigeon Hill or St. Mary's College, Baltimore, to be a *petit séminaire* for clerical candidates. When, about 1805, M. Dubourg had thrown open St. Mary's College to American youths in general and was preparing to accept a university charter from the Maryland Legislature, he felt that he was stepping aside from the strict line of work for which M. Olier had founded his congregation. He regretted this as much as M. Nagot or M. Emery, but he was obeying the dictates of necessity. At this very time we find him writing to his friend M. Dubois, who was then the pastor of Frederick, a letter urging and encouraging him to start a *petit séminaire* in the strict sense of the word on the slopes of the Blue Ridge in Western Maryland.

M. John Dubois, since 1808 a member of St. Sulpice, was born at Paris on August 24, 1764.¹ His father, who left him an orphan in early youth, was a respectable *bourgeois*. He had married a woman of sterling character, great intelligence, and deep religious convictions. She was able to pay for her boy's classical education at the *Collège Louis le Grand*, where he was the classmate of two of the most notorious champions of the French Revolution, the pitiless Maximilian Robespierre, and that wild journalist, Camille Desmoulins. M. Dubois never forgot Robespierre, who was no more attractive in his youth than he proved to be in the days of his manhood. As a student young Dubois was a gifted scholar, especially in the classics,

¹For a more complete biography, see "Historical Records and Studies," vol. i, pp. 278-355.



From Painting in Archbishop's House.

Photogravure & Color Co.

J. DUBOIS Bp

and a young man of determined character, imaginative, but restraining his imagination by love of truth and principle. When, early in the eighties of the eighteenth century, he had finished his classical studies, he felt a strong call to the priesthood, and entered the Seminary of St. Magloire, which was directed by the Fathers of the Oratory. There he was the contemporary of the later Cardinal Cheverus and of the celebrated Jesuit orator, Abbé Macarthy. He was no less respected by his fellow-students for his solid qualities than beloved because of his affability. After his ordination, on September 22, 1787, he was appointed chaplain of an institution for the insane and for orphans in the Rue de Sèvres in Paris. This place was in charge of the Sisters of Charity, founded by St. Vincent de Paul. The experience he gathered here was of great value to him when he was the guide and adviser of Mother Seton, at Emmitsburg. Only a few years after his ordination revolutionary madness drove him, like so many other French priests, to leave his country, and he determined to take refuge in the United States. At the request of his Parisian friends, La Fayette gave him letters of introduction to a number of eminent Virginians, such as Patrick Henry, the future President, James Monroe, the Lees, Randolphs, and Beverleys. By these he was warmly welcomed when, at the age of twenty-seven, he arrived in Virginia in 1791. Patrick Henry even taught him the English language. His friendly reception no doubt was partly due to La Fayette's warm recommendations, but partly also to Dubois' elegant manners and attractive qualities. Even in his old age, when he was Bishop of New York, Andrew Jackson declared him to be the most refined gentleman he had ever met. He was full of life and a ready talker. For children he always showed great sympathy. Quick of speech, quick of wit, quick of conception, he was also quick of temper. In short, he was in all respects a good representative of the well-bred Parisian.

The first two years of M. Dubois' American life were spent partly in mastering the English language, partly in missionary excursions throughout different districts of Virginia undertaken from his headquarters at Mr. Monroe's residence. In

1795, however, Bishop Carroll entrusted him with the pastorate at Frederick, Md., to succeed the Rev. Mr. Frambach, who had become unable to fulfil his duties as a missionary owing to the weight of his years. He soon felt himself at home in every part of his parish, which extended from Frederick over Western Maryland and even beyond. A great part of his time was spent on horseback. He rode from county to county, from State to State, visiting his scattered flock and becoming the friend of all, especially of the children. In this way he became acquainted with the Catholics that dwelt about Emmitsburg and at the foot of the wooded Blue Ridge. This spot exerted a peculiar charm over him and he never tired of chanting its praises to his friends and fellow-Sulpicians, for in 1808 he was received into the Society of St. Sulpice, and thus in a manner devoted himself to the cause of education. M. Dubourg was impressed by his friend's eulogies of the beauties of the Mountain and the friendly spirit of the farmers who had settled in its neighborhood. Seeing that his own college, owing to the innovations of 1803 and 1806, could not even imperfectly realize the ideal of a Sulpician preparatory seminary, and being convinced of the necessity of such an institution, he urged M. Dubois to establish a *petit séminaire* at Emmitsburg. M. Dubourg wrote to him in this sense as early as 1805. His friend did not hesitate long. With Bishop Carroll's consent, he turned over to the Society of St. Sulpice the property he had acquired and the houses and church he had built on the Mountain even before he himself had become a Sulpician. Subsequently, M. Dubourg and he bought five hundred additional acres at Emmitsburg. The next year he bade farewell to Frederick and settled on the Mountain. In 1808 he opened a school, numbering seven scholars. These included a Pennsylvanian named Lilly and probably the sons of mountain villagers. Some of the scholars boarded with M. Dubois and others in the neighboring houses, while the classes were held in a little brick building near by. This was the cradle of Mount St. Mary's, Emmitsburg, which soon became a household word among the Catholics of the United States. M. Dubois was

almost the entire faculty, for he had only one assistant. Messrs. Smith and Monahan were his first adjunct professors, and each of them stayed only one year.

Meanwhile the energetic college president, assisted financially by the Baltimore Sulpicians, had built two more log houses to receive the students. In the spring of 1809 his academic family was increased by all the students of Pigeon Hill, sixteen in number, we are informed, making a total of twenty-three. In 1811 these had increased so as to number forty, and in 1812 sixty. The faculty grew apace.

Sixty students, of course, made quite a respectable beginning for a preparatory seminary. But before long M. Dubois was face to face with the same difficulties that turned St. Mary's College into a general institution of learning. The Baltimore Sulpicians were proud of their new institution and omitted nothing that might inspire the professors and students with a feeling of brotherhood. The Emmitsburg boys came to attend the commencement exercises at Baltimore, and the vacation students of the Baltimore college, together with such of their teachers as were free, spent a part of the summer on the Mountain. As M. Dubois' building operations required more money, the brethren at Baltimore at first generously provided for the needs of the Mountain. M. Tessier, the superior of the Baltimore seminary, at times made tours of inspection to Emmitsburg, and the Baltimore faculty deliberated regarding the future of St. Mary's on the Mountain.

At first the Emmitsburg boys were all certainly Catholic and, it appears, hypothetically at least, candidates for the priesthood. Numerically, as we have seen, the growth of the institution gave rise to no fears of dissatisfaction. But when the superior of Baltimore paid his visits to the Mountain, he found that the expenses of the institution were growing continually more formidable, while the income remained inadequate. If we compare the development of the two St. Mary's colleges it is plain that, notwithstanding the comparative modesty of the buildings at Emmitsburg, the Baltimore institution was financially the more prosperous. Evidently the Baltimore students

could be better depended upon as a source of income than the students on the Mountain. At the latter place not a few of the students were charity students. At all events, only a few years after the opening of St. Mary's College we find the question raised whether students should be admitted who had no aspiration to the priesthood or for that matter Protestant students. In 1815 both M. Garnier and the superior-general of the Society, M. Duclaux, had had their attention called to this problem, for they wrote both to their brethren at Baltimore and to the archbishop that it was the wish of the Sulpicians in Europe to have the Emmitsburg institution maintained strictly as a preparatory seminary.¹

In 1818 things came to a crisis. The debts made by the Mountain college swelled from year to year and began to disquiet the faculty of the mother institution, which had so far supplied its financial needs. Could they continue to supply the money deficits and maintain the two colleges? Would it be wiser to consolidate them into one institution or must the Mountain college be given up? These vital questions were debated by the Baltimore Sulpicians, on May 22, 1818, at a meeting when Archbishop Maréchal was present. No final conclusion was arrived at. The archbishop opposed the suppression of the Emmitsburg college, but was obliged to leave the meeting before any definite conclusion was reached. In fact, nothing was done except to send the president of St. Mary's College, Baltimore, M. Damphoux, to Emmitsburg in order to ascertain the views of the Emmitsburg faculty. These opposed any radical measures. They thought it useless to consult the European superiors. Both colleges they declared were doing good and consequently both should be allowed to exist at least for the time being. But the Baltimore Sulpicians thought the situation was critical and action urgent, as the Emmitsburg students must be informed without delay where they were to go the following September. The Mount St. Mary's authorities replied that, before taking extreme measures, the gen-

¹See André, *Histoire de Saint Sulpice aux États-Unis* in *Bulletin Trimestriel*, No. 54, p. 373.

eral superiors at Paris ought to be consulted. Perhaps they said it might be possible to find some way out of the difficulty and maintain both colleges, as both were rendering service to the Church. The Baltimore gentlemen thought it unnecessary to wait or to trouble the superiors in Europe with the problem which they, being on the spot, understood better than the European superiors. When the vote was taken, it was in favor of suppressing the college on the Mountain. M. Tessier, the head of the Baltimore, and therefore of the American, Sulpicians, immediately recalled MM. Hickey and Randanne, who were then professors at Emmitsburg. This step surprised and shocked the European superiors. M. Garnier communicated with Archbishop Maréchal and a satisfactory arrangement was brought about. The Emmitsburg college remained a Sulpician institution. The title of the property was passed to M. Dubois, who held it for the Society of St. Sulpice. Archbishop Maréchal allowed his seminarians, then teaching at the Mountain, to continue to do so for some years at least and reinforced its faculty by sending a newly ordained priest, the Rev. Mr. Cooper, to assist M. Dubois. The two institutions became entirely independent of each other, and both continued to take students who had no clerical aspirations. M. Dubois did not give up the idea of making a genuine preparatory seminary of his institution on the Mountain. He was as ardent, indefatigable, and confident as ever. His college, in spite of the obstacles encountered, grew and prospered.

For the purpose of obtaining a more intimate knowledge of Mount St. Mary's and of becoming acquainted with its students and faculty nothing could be more useful than a register of the professors and students such as we possess of St. Mary's College in Baltimore. But such a register, as far as we know, does not exist. We must, therefore, strive to get what light we can from notices scattered here and there through other documents. The head of the faculty, of course, was M. Dubois, and with all his kindness and elegance of manner he was the ruler of the institution. The boys were very fond of him, but this did not prevent them from calling him the "little Napo-

leon," a very significant term. He was the chief, not only in the church and the college and the adjoining Convent of St. Joseph's, the mother-house of the Sisters of Charity, but in the carpenter shop, in the garden, and on the farm as well, directing and working. But if he was authoritative, he was also good natured, and if he was a Napoleon, he was a democratic Napoleon, who was felt to be a father rather than a general.

M. Dubois' chief lieutenant and confidential adviser was M. Simon Bruté. We have already made his acquaintance in the preceding chapter as president of St. Mary's College, Baltimore, where he succeeded M. Paquet. To this position he had been called from the college on the Mountain, which had been his home since 1812. However, M. Bruté's absence from the Mountain was of short duration, for in 1818 he rejoined M. Dubois and remained at Emmitsburg until 1834. M. Bruté supplied some of the qualities in which the president of Mount St. Mary's College was deficient. He was a careful man, slow to act, but vigorous in action. In fact, since 1818, as a result of his wise advice, there was a remarkable improvement in the financial situation of Mount St. Mary's College.

Of the other Sulpician professors at Mount St. Mary's, we know M. Randanne chiefly as a faithful professor at St. Mary's College, Baltimore. There he spent the best part of his life, being a member of the faculty from 1818 to 1852. The Rev. M. Hickey, who had a reputation as a disciplinarian and as an English scholar, was a member of the Emmitsburg staff from 1814 to 1818, when he was called to Baltimore. However, he returned to the Mountain in 1826, when this college was finally severed from the Society of St. Sulpice. The greater part of the Emmitsburg faculty consisted of the young men who were at the same time studying theology. As at Baltimore, they proved their competence by their success. Many reached high stations when they entered upon their active work in the world. Among these must be mentioned the great Archbishop of New York, John Hughes.

As to the students of Mount St. Mary's College, it is its well-known distinction that from the beginning it supplied a

large number of ecclesiastics to the American Church and not only faithful priests but also able bishops. We have just mentioned Archbishop Hughes. His successor, Cardinal McCloskey, likewise was a student at Emmitsburg during the Sulpician period of the college. The cardinal's successor, Archbishop Corrigan, was also an alumnus of Mount St. Mary's, though at a later date, so that from 1826, when M. Dubois became Bishop of New York, until 1902, men of the Mountain swayed the destinies of the great diocese of New York.

Among the other alumni of Mount St. Mary's, most of whom were members of the corps of instructors, were the future Archbishop of Cincinnati, John B. Purcell, Bishop George A. Carrell of Covington, Bishop William Quarter of Chicago, Bishop Richard V. Whelan of Wheeling, W. Va.; Rev. William Byrne, the founder of St. Mary's College, Kentucky, and many other distinguished clergymen. Among the distinguished lay alumni we may mention Captain William Seton of the United States Navy, Mr. James McSherry, a graduate of 1828, who became a lawyer of note and wrote a much read history of Maryland.

A comparison of the faculties and students of the two St. Mary's colleges established the fact that each had its well-marked characteristics. At Baltimore the influence of the French Sulpicians always remained predominant. At Emmitsburg, though MM. Dubois and Bruté, whose influence was paramount in the foundation of the college, were also French Sulpicians, the American and Irish American element soon grew powerful. At the same time, Mount St. Mary's never had as large a representation of West Indian students, nor was the Protestant element as strong there as at Baltimore. Again, Mount St. Mary's, though not strictly a preparatory seminary, contributed a much larger quota to the Catholic clergy of the United States than did its sister institution. For many decades it supplied a large share of the bishops of the United States, among them many men distinguished by scholarship as well as by administrative talent. M. Dubois was, therefore, correctly inspired when, in 1818, he insisted with all his vigor on the

maintenance of his beloved Mountain college. He infused into it new life, and before long the clearest evidences of success and prosperity began to appear. The scattered frame buildings, which had hitherto been the only homes of the Mountain muse, were found to be insufficient. In 1822 the old president began to build for the Mountain students a new home dignified and sufficient for the needs of the institution. With his usual energy he pressed forward his undertaking, and the structure was all but completed when in the night of June 6, 1824, it was destroyed by fire. M. Dubois, who had been aroused from his bed, stood by impotent to save the structure on which he had built so many hopes. But the old hero was not discouraged. "The Lord hath given," he cried out, "the Lord hath taken away. Blessed be the name of the Lord." Then he pointed out to his stricken friends the spot on which he would forthwith build a new and improved home for his students. On the present occasion events proved that M. Dubois was not too hopeful. In a few weeks he started his new building and everybody was ready to second his efforts. Not only his faculty but his students spread over the country and brought home substantial tokens of the interest which Maryland and the adjacent States took in the hard tried college. In 1826 the students, who had meanwhile occupied the old frame dwellings, were able to take up their new quarters, and the future promised even more success than had been achieved before the catastrophe.

The fire which destroyed Mount St. Mary's proved the beginning of a new era in more senses than one. The old building, though new, was replaced by a newer and better. At the same time the institution severed its connection with the Society of St. Sulpice.

M. Dubois was not to guide the destinies of St. Mary's of the Mountain much longer. In 1826, the very year which severed the connection between Mount St. Mary's College and the Sulpicians, also severed the connection between Mount St. Mary's and its founder and president. Late in the summer of 1826, the Bulls arrived from Rome appointing M. Dubois Bishop of New York. Reluctantly he accepted the honor and

agreed to bid farewell to his beloved college and to his Maryland friends. The retreat preparatory to his consecration was made among his Sulpician brethren at Baltimore, who wished him every success in his new career. Of his activity as a missionary bishop, we shall speak in our next chapter.

We have already seen that M. Flaget's attempt to found a preparatory clerical school in the West according to M. Emery's suggestion proved a failure. About the same time as M. Flaget, two other Sulpicians, M. Levadoux and M. Richard, started to begin missionary life in what was then called the Northwest, and to work there for the cause of clerical education. The former of these gentlemen was an old professor of the Society of St. Sulpice, who prior to the Revolution of 1789 had been a director of the Seminary of Limoges. He had been a member of the first band of Sulpicians who arrived in Baltimore in 1791. M. Richard was a young man about twenty-four years of age who had just joined the Society of St. Sulpice at the end of his theological studies. He came to Baltimore with M. Flaget and M. Ciquard. As their services were not needed at the Baltimore seminary, Richard was sent to the West by Bishop Carroll, and at first evangelized the French and Indians of the Illinois district. Later M. Levadoux penetrated farther north and settled in Detroit, then a village of about 2000 souls, mostly French. In 1798 M. Richard came to Detroit, and jointly with M. Levadoux attended to the spiritual needs not only of Detroit but of the entire Lake region as far as Sault Ste. Marie. In 1803, M. Levadoux was recalled to France and became professor of theology at Saint Flour. M. Richard remained in sole charge of Detroit and vicinity, where he proved to be one of the most energetic and notable missionaries in the northwest of the United States. This is not the place to enlarge upon his achievements as pastor of the Detroit congregation of St. Anne nor as Indian missionary. We are concerned at present with his endeavor to carry out M. Emery's instructions to start preparatory seminaries. In 1804, only one year after M. Levadoux's departure for France had left him superior of the Detroit mission, he undertook to establish a seminary for

the education of young clerics. The year before he had prepared for the venture by founding some elementary schools taught by ladies. In his seminary were taught Latin, geography, ecclesiastical history, Church music, and the practice of mental prayer.¹ But the zealous Sulpician's enterprise was doomed to speedy destruction. The following year (1805) his school shared the fate of the rising village of Detroit and was reduced to ashes, along with the Church of St. Anne and M. Richard's home.

The story we have told in the present chapter shows how loyal the gentlemen of St. Sulpice who came to America were to Father Olier's idea. Cast out of their own lands, refugees in a strange country, their first and their constant thought was the education of the clergy. Failure did not discourage them. Whether in the East or in the West, the Sulpician missionary, as soon as he was settled in his new home gathered about him young men who gave any proof of a clerical vocation. We can not help admiring their steadfastness. They failed at Baltimore, they failed at Pigeon Hill, they failed at Emmitsburg, they failed in Illinois, they failed at Detroit, but never did they even for a moment waver in their loyalty to the purpose of their company. Their almost grim determination to stand by the program of MM. Olier and Emery is a characteristic of their endeavors and their history. That is the principal moral to be drawn from the story we have recited.

¹See Rev. John J. O'Brien, "The Rev. Gabriel Richard, Educator, Statesman, and Priest" in "Historical Records and Studies," vol. v, p. 81.

DR. JOHN McLOUGHLIN

BY REV. THOMAS J. CAMPBELL, S.J.

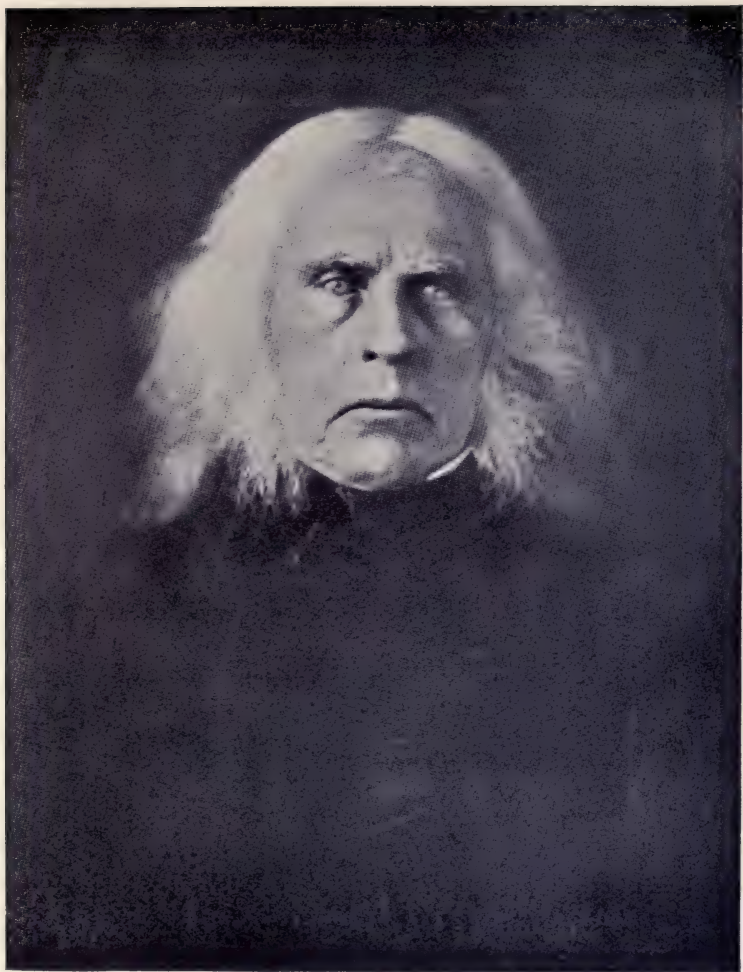
Over the Speaker's desk in the legislative halls of Oregon there is a portrait of a venerable man whose aspect is almost startlingly like that of an old lion. A great mass of snow-white hair falls like a mane on his broad shoulders; his head is erect, his eyes piercing; the features are regular and firmly set, conveying an impression of indomitable resolution coupled with a consciousness of power, yet without any suggestion of haughtiness or pride. On the contrary, there is a glow of kindness and benignity in his whole demeanor. Looking at it, one is instinctively prompted to say, "Here is a born leader of men, one whose followers must not only have feared and obeyed but loved and almost worshiped him." The picture represents Dr. John McLoughlin, and under his name is the inscription "Founder of Oregon."

In the histories of the Pacific Coast no one is more frequently mentioned and never without praise. His name occurs in page after page of Laut's "The Conquest of the Great Northwest." Holman, who wrote his life, thinks that Catholics ought to canonize him. Hubert Bancroft, Howison, Applegate, Allan, Roberts, and others all speak of him in terms of highest praise. Indeed, the regard for him has reached the dimension of a cult, and in the Lewis and Clark Exposition of 1906 a McLoughlin Day was set apart in his honor. A snow-capped mountain is named after him. But apparently very little is known of him in the eastern part of the United States. Moreover, there is an impression about him that although he was baptized a Catholic in infancy he lost the Faith, without, however, any fault of his own, and returned to it only in his later years. The very reverse is the case. He was all his life a devout and practical Catholic.

He was born on October 9, 1784, in the parish of Rivière du

Loup, about one hundred and twenty miles below Quebec, on the south side of the St. Lawrence, and was baptized on November 3 of the same year in Kamouraska, for there was no priest at Rivière du Loup at that time. His father was a native of Ireland; his mother, Angélique Fraser, was of Scotch descent, but her name, Angélique, is almost proof positive that she had French Canadian blood in her veins. Her uncle was the famous Colonel Fraser who after the capture of Quebec had established a *seigneurie* at Rivière du Loup, which is called Fraserville to-day. The Frasers of that place were all Protestants then, but they are all Catholics now, from the Seigneur to the humblest *habitant*. It may also be of interest to know that the actual head of the clan in Scotland, Lord Lovat, is a Catholic, and though the rest of the Frasers resented his conversion, it was the reverse with those of Fraserville. When Lovat went to Canada a few years ago they accorded him an ovation.

McLoughlin's father was drowned in the St. Lawrence, and the story current about John is that he was then handed over to his Protestant relatives, and from that out ceased to be a Catholic, returning again to the Faith only at the end of his life. But this myth has evidently grown out of an event that occurred in the life of his sister, Marie Louise. She was an extremely pretty and engaging child and a great favorite of the old colonel, her granduncle. When she was six years old he insisted on her living in his house, and in spite of the protests of her parents he kept her there almost by force till she was fifteen years old. She had not yet made her first communion, nor had she been confirmed, and had even gone several times to Protestant churches. The father and mother were greatly alarmed, and availing themselves of the absence of the colonel took possession of the child, who on her part had begun to worry about what she was doing. The Abbé Desjardins, who was then at Quebec, but afterward became Grand Vicaire of Paris, instructed her and had her make her profession of faith in the Seminary Chapel at Quebec, in the presence of her father and the superior of the seminary, M. Gravé. She then received



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communion, and was confirmed. The colonel was furious when he heard of it, but that did not disturb Marie Louise. She became a pupil in the Ursuline Convent, and on February 27, 1798, took the veil. In the history of that great establishment Mother St. Henry, as she was called, is regarded as one of the most illustrious superiors. Her portrait, which is shown to those who are privileged to enter the cloister, was made at the special request of her brother David. "It is so lifelike," says the "Glimpses of the Monastery," a work written by a cousin of Oliver Wendell Holmes, "that we who bear the original impressed on our hearts may still imagine, as we pause before it in the community hall, that we really meet again those eyes ever beaming with charity, and that we hear the mellow tones of that voice, so soothing and maternal, which we loved so well." The "Quebec Gazette" said at the time of her death: "During the long period of forty-six years of her religious profession she filled at various times the office of superior of the community with the rare talent, prudence, and justice which merited for her the highest confidence and esteem. She will be long and deeply regretted at Quebec, not only by the citizens of every class and nationality, who have so often rendered homage to her virtues and fine qualities, but also by all strangers who have occasion to visit that estimable institution, none of whom ever went away without expressing the highest admiration for the noble manners and the interesting conversation of this amiable lady."

Four of her nieces followed her example and became Ursulines. Her brothers furthered all her plans in the work of education and sent her from Paris whatever she needed for her school. One of them, David, married Lady Jane Capel, niece of the Viceroy of Ireland, and was the friend of Lord Aylmer and Lord Gosford, both of whom became later governors of Canada. As John McLoughlin was fourteen years of age when his sister became a nun, and as so many of his relatives followed her example, and as he himself, later on, was so intensely interested in the work of the convent over which she presided, the story about his having been brought up a Protestant may be dismissed as a romance.

Possibly on account of his Fraser connections, and also because so many of the directors of the Northwest Company, with which McLoughlin was so long associated, came from Scotland, he is frequently described as Scotch, but Howison affirms that he was of Irish parentage; and Allan, who was for many years with him at Fort Vancouver, says the same. Holman, his latest biographer, has no doubt about it, but the best authority is, of course, himself, and he repeatedly insisted that he was Irish.

The profession of medicine was a tradition in the Fraser family. One of John's uncles, an officer in the Black Watch, had, after the Conquest, settled down as physician in Canada, and McLoughlin and his brother went abroad to take their degrees. Laut says that he was a student at Laval, Quebec, but after a very diligent search, by the distinguished rector himself, of the catalogues which go back almost to the beginning of that institution, the name McLoughlin was not to be found. We are told that he lived some time at Quebec and also that he left it very hurriedly because of an altercation with an officer of the citadel whom he had pitched on his head into the mud of the city streets. The precise date of his flight is not given, but it was probably about 1809 or 1810. Hubert Bancroft speaks of his joining the Northwest Company early in the century.

The Northwest was the rival of the Hudson Bay Company, which had been established in the time of Charles II, and had exercised a monopoly of the fur trade in British North America for over a century. In 1783 a number of merchants of Montreal organized the Northwest Company to compete with it, and they sent their men in canoes or through forests to regions which the Hudson Bay Company had never known. The Hudson Bay traders contented themselves with remaining in their forts and receiving whatever furs were brought to them, whereas the Northwesters traveled over the whole west, and one of them, Alexander McKenzie, gave his name to the river which empties into the Arctic Ocean. The directors were mainly Scotch, and their men were almost exclusively French Canadians. Iberville's raiders, who took the English posts in Hudson Bay, were mostly Northwesters, and their purpose in joining the expedi-



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tion was a combination of patriotism with business. According to the Abbé Dugas in his "L'Ouest Canadien," they were a most disreputable set of men, ready for all sorts of villainy—murder, debauchery, drunkenness, theft. They were virtually slaves of their employers, who lent them money so generously that it was impossible for them ever to get out of the toils. Not only did they teach the Indians all the vices of the whites, but wrought irreparable harm on the French settlements by withdrawing thousands of young men from peaceful pursuits and making them lead the lives of savages. They were sent down regularly to the settlements along the St. Lawrence to get recruits, and never failed of success by the wild stories they told of the life in the woods.

Wealth poured into the coffers of the company, and its managers lived in lordly magnificence in Montreal. Colin Robertson, one of the officials of the Hudson Bay Company, thus describes the conditions that prevailed among his enemies: "The residences of the Northwesters in Montreal are splendid establishments, the resorts of the first in society, the benefit from this ostentatious display of wealth being the friendship of legal authorities . . . Even the prisons of Montreal are become places of public entertainment from the circumstance of yet holding some partners of the Northwest Company . . . Every other night a ball or supper is given; and the Highland bagpipes utter the sound of martial music as if to deafen public censure. The most glaring instance of the Northwesters' contempt for law is their attempt to attract public notice by illuminating all the prison windows every night. Strangers will naturally ask, 'For what crimes are these gentlemen committed? For debt?' No . . . for murder . . . arson . . . robbery . . . Our old friend, Mr. Astor, is here . . . He is frequently in the society of the Northwesters."

Such was the ill-famed set with whom McLoughlin united his fortunes, but he joined them not as *coureur*. His was an official position as physician and he had no part in whatever rascalities were committed. On the other hand, it must be borne in mind that many of the charges brought against the Northwesters were

prompted not only by business but by race hatred. It was the English against the French. The feeling showed itself even in courts, and judicial decisions given in England were almost sure to clash with those of Montreal.

The chief trading post of the Northwesters was Fort William, on the north shore of Lake Superior. Mackinac had first been tried, but that was too near the rival company. Some more remote place was desirable, one that would open up the north country. Hence Grand Portage, one thousand eight hundred miles from Montreal, was chosen. The name was changed to Fort William.

The route from Montreal to Fort William was the same as that followed by the old missionaries: up the Ottawa, with its numberless cataracts, out through the French River into Georgian Bay and then along the upper stretches of Lake Huron to Sault Ste. Marie. There the last vestiges of civilization disappeared. Beyond that there was no law of God or man. Letters sent from below were "to be delivered to the *coureur* wherever found." After leaving the Sault and passing through the canal, which even in those early days had been dug to reach Lake Superior by larger vessels than canoes, the travelers finally landed at Fort William, from which they scattered in their hunt to the north and west, going as far as the North Sea and the Pacific Ocean.

Laut, in "The Conquest of the Great Northwest" (vol. ii, p. 11), thus describes Fort William: "The usual slab-cut palisades surrounded the fort. In the center of the square stood the main building surmounted by a high balcony. Inside was the great saloon or hall—sixty feet by thirty—decorated with paintings of the leading partners in the full flush of ruffles and court costumes. Here the partners and clerks and leading guides took their meals. Round this hall were the partners' bedrooms; in the basement, the kitchen. Flanking the walls of the courtyard were other buildings equally large—the servants' quarters, storehouses, warerooms, clerks' lodgings. The powder magazine was of stone, roofed with tin, with a lookout near the roof commanding a view of the lake. There was also a jail, which

the voyageurs jocularly called their *pot au beurre*, or butter tub. The physician, Dr. McLoughlin, had a house to himself, near the gate. Over the gate was a guardhouse, where a sentry sat night and day. Inside the palisades was a population of from twelve hundred to two thousand people. Outside the fort a village of little log houses had scattered along the river front. Here dwelt the Indian families of the French voyageurs."

It was while McLoughlin was at Fort William that John Jacob Astor attempted to establish a trading post on the Columbia River, which he proposed to reach by sea. Unwisely he employed what stragglers he could find of the Northwesters at Montreal and attached to him as partners in the enterprise several Scotchmen, who very soon wrested his establishment from him. Washington Irving in his "Astoria" describes the arrival of a number of these wild *coureurs de bois* in New York to take passage in the sailing ship *Tonquin*, which Astor was sending out. "They determined," he says, "to regale and astonish the people of the 'States' with the sight of a Canadian boat and a Canadian crew. They accordingly fitted up a large but light bark canoe, such as is used in the fur trade, transported it in a wagon from the banks of the St. Lawrence to the shores of Lake Champlain, traversed the lake in it from end to end, hoisted it again in a wagon and wheeled it off to Lansingburgh, and there launched it upon the waters of the Hudson. Down this river they plied their course merrily on a fine summer's day, making its banks resound for the first time with their old French boat songs, passing by the villages with whoop and halloo, so as to make the honest Dutch farmers mistake them for a crew of savages. In this way they swept, in full song and with regular flourish of the paddle, around New York in a still summer evening, to the wonder and admiration of its inhabitants, who had never before witnessed on their waters a nautical apparition of the kind."

The failure of the expedition is well known. The *Tonquin* left New York on September 8, 1810, and after a wearisome journey around the Horn it landed a party at the mouth of the

Columbia and established Astoria. It then proceeded along the coast, but most of the crew were murdered by the savages, and those who were left blew up the ship, sending themselves, as well as the Indians who were on board, into eternity. The rest proved faithless to Astor, and after a year or two the North-westerners owned the post. They called it Fort George. We refer to this not merely as part of the general story, but because one of Astor's partners in this expedition was Alexander McKay, who previous to that had traveled with McKenzie to the Pacific. When Astor's ship was attacked by the Indians he was struck by a war club and flung into the sea, where he was dispatched by the squaws in the canoes. His wife was an Ojibway Indian, who later on married John McLoughlin.

Taking Astoria from its owners was easy for the North-westerners, but the Hudson Bay Company were not so readily disposed of. Great bitterness existed between the two associations, and when their men met in the wilderness many a bloody encounter ensued; but if a band of traders never returned to the forts no one ever knew what had become of them. They were reported as lost in the woods, or drowned in the rapids, or killed by the Indians. Investigations were useless. The animosity of the two companies found its worst expression on the arrival of Lord Selkirk.

He came out to America not in quest of furs, but to found a colony for the poverty-stricken peasants of Scotland and Ireland. Colin Robertson, a Hudson Bay man, whom he had met at Montreal, had fired his imagination with a story of the wonderful fertility of the soil, at the junction of the Red and Assiniboine Rivers, beyond Lake Winnipeg, and that region he determined to possess in order to carry out his scheme. He never seems to have dreamed of the difficulty of transporting colonists from Scotland to that remote wilderness; nor of finding a market for their produce; nor of the opposition that his project would engender among the fur traders, who in their best hunting grounds were regarded by the Hudson Bay as poachers; nor of the right of the Hudson Bay Company, even if he and his family controlled the main part of the stock, to

turn over to him a territory larger than the British Isles, including, as it did, all of the present province of Manitoba and half of what is now the State of Minnesota.

At the end of June, 1811, his first batch of emigrants sailed out of the Thames for America. Their leader, Miles McDonnell, an old forest ranger, was a Catholic, as were many of the Highlanders, and Father Bourke, an Irish priest, went as their chaplain. They pointed for Hudson Bay, and were sixty days rolling in the billows of the North Atlantic before they entered the straits. The passage across the bay was tranquil enough, but it was September 24 before they set foot on its western shore. The snow was falling and the thermometer registered 8 below zero. The lakes and rivers of the interior were by that time in the grip of the ice, and the unhappy emigrants had to remain in that land of desolation and suffering until the following summer. In July Father Bourke bade them farewell and returned home for recruits. It was already the end of August when they landed at the bend of the Red River, two miles north of the Assiniboine, near the site of the present Winnipeg. Another batch of emigrants, under the care of Owen Keveny, Selkirk's Irish agent, arrived that same year. By neither party was this Promised Land found to be flowing with milk and honey.

In the "Canadian Archives," published by the Government Printing Bureau, Ottawa, 1914, it is said by William Auld of York Factory that "Mr. Keveny arrived at the Red River with his whole party safe and sound, in the same high health as when they left Ireland. He is worth as many Archdeacon McDonalds as will stand between here and Cape Horn." Nevertheless, the "Archives" add, "after spending a winter on Red River he returned to Ireland, but came out again to Hudson Bay in 1815. Owing to his tyrannical treatment of his boatmen on their way inland from (Fort) Albany a warrant was sworn out for his arrest. He was arrested and sent off for Fort William. He became so unruly that he was clapped into irons. He was murdered *en route*." The real reason of his death appears to be that he was a man of immense power in keeping the settlers

loyal to Selkirk and had to be put out of the way. Selkirk had tried very earnestly to get priests for his colony.

The Northwesters openly showed their discontent, especially when in January, 1814, Selkirk's governor, Miles McDonnell, forbade them to take any provisions from the entire district. Then followed a series of open combats. Forts were taken and retaken until finally, in the spring of 1816, the half-breeds, or pillagers, as they were called, attacked Selkirk's colony and fort, and murdered the agent along with twenty of the Hudson Bay men, including all the officers, four colonists, and fifteen servants. The bodies of the slain were treated with shameful indignity. While this butchery was going on the chief men of Fort William, among whom was Dr. McLoughlin, were rushing for the Red River with a hundred men and two cannon to punish the governor for seizing their fort. They arrived only after the massacre. Very probably, however, blood would have been shed even if the half-breeds had not been first on the scene. But although McLoughlin was with the party, it was not for the purpose of fighting; it was to care for the wounded. Indeed, when one of the associates suggested that the horrid deed could be blamed on the Indians, McLoughlin reminded him that no Indian took part in the fray. It was a half-breed affair instigated by white men. The attack had been expected by Selkirk, and he was hurrying up from Montreal to protect his establishment. He arrived too late to prevent its capture, but he drove the enemy out, and on August 12 he marshaled his men before Fort William and demanded its surrender. Every Northwester was eager to fight except McLoughlin. "There has been too much blood shed already," he said, and he went to parley with Selkirk, on the other side of the river, but was detained as a prisoner and then the fort was rushed and taken without a blow. All its defenders were bound and led ignominiously to Eastern Canada as captives. On the way down, the boat in which McLoughlin was carried capsized in the Sault and seven men were drowned. He saved his life by swimming ashore.

Then followed bitter litigation at Montreal, the Canadian

courts disagreeing with the English tribunals, until finally, in May, 1817, a royal proclamation ordered both parties to desist from strife and to restore each other's property. Selkirk left America forever, and on November 8, 1820, died at Pau in France. His bubble had burst. Nevertheless, the flourishing cities of Winnipeg and St. Boniface, with an archbishopric and a university, have arisen in the very place where he first established his colony; and later on, when some Swiss emigrants who had joined him found that their occupation of clockmaking and cabinet-working and carving were of no avail in the region of the Red River, they moved down to Minnesota and squatted near Fort Snelling, which is now St. Paul.

The sensible men of both associations began to see the folly of a strife that was mutually destructive, and a movement was set on foot to unite the contending forces. For that purpose the Northwesters sent McLoughlin and Bethune to London to urge the directors of the companies to carry out the plan. This selection of McLoughlin is noteworthy, inasmuch as it is in flat contradiction with the assertion in Holman's "Life of John McLoughlin," who is there represented as being bitterly opposed to the coalition. The story of this journey to London also brings up the question that we are chiefly interested in, namely, McLoughlin's Catholicity. In "The Conquest of the Great Northwest" it is said that Robertson, Selkirk's evil genius, had heard that the Northwesters were about to propose a union with the Hudson Bay Company, and he judged that he could serve his company best by hurrying to London and pressing on the general court the fact that the country was already in the hands of the Hudson Bay traders without any union. What was his amazement on taking ship at New York to find as fellow-passengers two Northwest partners, Bethune and McLoughlin, now on the way to London to urge the union. Toward the end of the voyage "wine went round freely and subscriptions were opened for the ship's hands," writes Robertson. "Our friend, the Northwester, Dr. McLoughlin, had put down his name. I took the pen to put mine down, but seeing Bethune, the other Northwester, waiting, I said to Abbé Carrière:

“Come, Abbé, put down your name. I don't want to sign between two Northwesters.’

“‘Never mind, Robertson,’ says the Abbé, ‘Christ was crucified between two thieves.’

“McLoughlin,” continues Robertson, “flew in a dreadful passion, *but being a good Catholic*, had to stomach it.

“As the world knows, the embassy of the Northwesters was successful. The two companies were united, and the aforetime bitter rivals returned to serve the Hudson Bay Company for many a year as faithful friends and loyal partners.”

In this very interesting episode of McLoughlin's journey, we have a valuable argument in favor of the view for which we are contending, namely, that McLoughlin had never been other than a stanch Catholic. This assertion is made by his enemy, Robertson, who in pronouncing him to be such was merely voicing the sentiment of all the Northwesters and Hudson Bay Company men. The time this utterance was made is also very important, for the reason that it antedates by twenty years his alleged conversion in Oregon by Bishop Blanchet. Thus it is clear that from the time he left Quebec until the moment the coalition of the two companies was effected he had always been recognized as a Catholic. Starting his career as such, there would be no reason why a man of his intelligence and integrity when occupying his new post at Oregon, where he was supreme master and above any influence that could be possibly exerted upon him, should deliberately abandon the religion which he had hitherto so openly professed. Even from a worldly point of view such a change would have not only have lowered him in the esteem in which he was held by the Catholics with whom he was associated, and of whom there were many in both companies, but he would have lost caste with his Protestant friends, who would have attributed his change to worldly motives, which had at no time exerted any influence upon his conduct. As a matter of fact, he was never swayed by any base or unworthy purpose of fear or cupidity in the entire course of his life.

The mission of the Northwest representatives was successful,

and we are told, though we fail to see the connection, that Nicholas Garry was appointed to organize the united traders because "he chanced to be the only unmarried man in the governing committee." But even this unhampered bachelor considered the task so difficult because of the bitterness on both sides that he did not think it advisable to come out to America with the partisans of either side, nor would they journey with each other. Garry came by way of New York and the others went to Montreal separately. The same segregation was observed on the way up to Fort William, where the deed of union was to be signed and the various assignments were to be made.

Finally, around the table at Fort William the partners met, and scowling at each other awaited the decision of the all-powerful Garry. We are only interested, for the present, in McLoughlin, and it is a tribute to his powers of government that the assignment of territory to him was greater than that given to any other of the associates. He was sent to Oregon.

If Italy, Spain, France, Germany, and Switzerland were united under one flag it would give some idea of the size of the fur traders' kingdom assigned to him. It included not only the States now known as Washington, Oregon, California, Idaho, Nevada, Utah, Colorado, Wyoming, and part of Montana, but extended north of what is now the international boundary through Okanogan and Kamloops and Cariboo to the limits of the Yukon. Of all this region McLoughlin was the sole autocrat. Furs from the mountain brigades of the South, of the Sacramento and the Snake and Salt Lake; from the mountain brigades of the East; from Idaho and Montana and Wyoming; from the mountain brigades of the North, Okanogan and Kamloops and Fraser River poured into Fort Vancouver to be exchanged for supplies and transhipped to London by ships that went round the world to reach their destination.

McLoughlin first went to Astoria, but found it more advantageous to abandon that post and to establish another on the Columbia River, which he called Fort Vancouver.

"This fort stood at a bend in the river on the north side, far enough from the coast to be away from the rivalry of Pacific

schooners, and near enough to be in touch with tidewater. In its general lines it was like Fort William. It was the capital of a kingdom. Spruce slabs half a foot thick, twenty feet high, sharp at both ends and in double rows, composed the walls. Great gates with brass hinges extending half way across the top and bottom beams opened leaf-wise toward the river. On the northwest corner stood a bastion whose lower stories served as powder magazine and upper windows as lookout. Cannon bristled through the double palisades of the fort, and to one side of the main gate was the customary wicket, through which goods could be exchanged for furs from the Indians. The big, two-story, timbered house in the center of the court was the residence of the chief factor. On both sides were stores and warehouses and fur presses and the bachelors' quarters and the little log cabins, where lived the married trappers. Trim lawns decorated with little rockeries of cannon balls divided the different buildings, and in front of the chief factor's residence, on the top of a large flagpole, there blew to the breeze the flag with the letters H. B. C.—a sign that a brigade was coming in, or a brigade setting out, or that a ship had been sighted, or that it was Sunday and the flying flag was a signal to the Indians there would be no trade, a custom that has lasted to this day.”—LAUT, ii. 241.

With characteristic energy and foresight Dr. McLoughlin soon established at and near Fort Vancouver a large farm, on which were grown quantities of grain and vegetables. It was afterward stocked with cattle, horses, sheep, goats, and hogs. In 1836 this farm consisted of three thousand acres, fenced into fields, with here and there dairy houses and herdsmen's and shepherds' cottages. In 1836 the products of this farm were, in bushels: 8000 of wheat; 5500 of barley; 6000 of oats; 9000 of peas; 14,000 of potatoes, besides large quantities of turnips (rutabaga), pumpkins, etc. There were about ten acres in apple, pear, and quince trees, which bore in profusion. He established two sawmills and two flour-mills near the fort. For many years there were shipped from Fort Vancouver lumber to the Hawaiian Islands (then called the Sandwich Islands)

and flour to Sitka. It was not many years after Dr. McLoughlin came to the Oregon country until it was one of the most profitable parts of North America to the Hudson Bay Company. For many years the London value of the yearly gathering of furs in the Oregon country varied from \$500,000 to \$1,000,000, sums of money representing then a value several fold more than such sums represent to-day.—HOLMAN, p. 28.

In this empire McLoughlin, who was then only thirty-nine years old, reigned supreme. There was a governor above him, it is true, but that dignitary rarely visited the territory. Communication with him was difficult and what the factor wished was done. "There was never any disorder where McLoughlin was in command; licentiousness among his subordinates was severely punished; drunkenness was unknown, and on one occasion he bought the entire cargo of liquor from a ship that came to the Columbia so as to prevent its sale among his men. He himself was rigidly abstemious, and a glass of wine as a greeting to some returning party was all he ever permitted himself. Sunday was religiously observed, and when no minister of the Gospel was present the Doctor himself presided and read the prayers. Before the arrival of the Catholic missionaries he carefully prevented the French Canadian settlers from going to other religious meetings, and he regularly read the prayers for them on Sunday morning. Besides the English school established by the company for the children of the Scotch or English traders, he maintained a separate one at his own expense for the French children, and by his order prayers and catechism were taught in French to the women as well as to the children on Sunday and week-days. He also encouraged the singing of canticles, in which he was assisted by his wife and daughter, who took much pleasure in this exercise. He visited and examined his school once a week, which was already formed of several good scholars, who soon learned to read French and became of great help to the priest. He it was who saved the Catholics of the fort and their children from the dangers of perversion, and who, finding the log church the Canadians had built a few miles below Fairfield in 1836 not properly located,

ordered it to be removed and rebuilt on a large prairie, its present beautiful site.”—*Recollections of Oregon*.

Life in this kingdom of the wilderness was as active as it was picturesque. Laut, than whom no one knew better the story of the Hudson Bay Company, thus describes one of the departures of its hunters in quest of furs, as they swept out of old Fort Vancouver.¹ “With long white hair streaming to the wind Dr. McLoughlin usually stood on the green slope outside the picketed walls, giving a personal hand-shake, a personal ‘God-bless-you’ to every packer, every horseman of the motley throng setting out on the yearly campaign for beaver. There were Iroquois from the St. Lawrence. There were Ojibways from Lake Superior. There were Cree and Assiniboine and Sioux of the prairie, these for the most part to act as packers and hunters and trappers in the horse brigades destined inland for the mountains. Then there were freemen, a distinct body of trappers owning allegiance to no man, but joining the company’s brigades for safety’s sake and selling the beaver they trapped to the trader who paid the highest price. Of coast Indians there were very few. The salmon runs of the river gave the coast tribes too easy an existence. They were useless for the hardships of inland service. A few Cayuses and Flatheads and Walla Wallas might join the brigades for the adventure, but they did not belong to the company’s regular retainers.

“The company divided each of the hunting brigades into three classes—gentlemen, white men, hunters. The gentlemen usually went out in twos—a commander and his lieutenant, dressed in cocked hat and buttons and ruffles and satin waistcoats, with a pistol somewhere and very often a sword stuck in the high boot-leg. These were given the best places in the canoes, or mounted the finest horses of the mountain brigades. The second class were either servants to beat the furs and cook meals, or young clerks sent out to be put in training for some future chieftaincy. But by far the most picturesque part of the brigades were the motley—Indians, half-breeds, white men—in buckskin suits with hawks’ bills down the leggings, scarlet

¹Vol. ii, p. 261.

or blue handkerchief binding back the lank hair, bright sash about the waist and moccasins beaded like works of art. Then somewhere in each brigade was a musician, a singer to lead in the voyageurs' songs, perhaps a piper from the Highlands of Scotland to set the bagpipes droning 'The Campbells Are Coming,' between the rock walls of the Columbia. And, most amazing thing of all, in these transmontane brigades the men were accompanied by wives and families.

"A last hand-shake with Dr. McLoughlin; tears mingled with fears over partings that were many of them destined to be forever, and out they swept, the Oregon brigades, with laughter and French voyageurs' song and Highland bagpipes. A dip of the steersman's lifted paddle, and the northern brigades of sixty men each were off for Athabasca and the Saskatchewan and the St. Lawrence. A bugle call or the beat of an Indian tom-tom, and the long lines of pack-horses, two and three hundred in each brigade, decked with ribbons as for a country fair, wound into the mountain defiles like desert caravans of wandering Arabs. Oregon meant more in those days than a wedge stuck in between Washington and California. It was everything west of the Rockies that Spain did not claim. Then Chief Factor McLoughlin, whom popular imagination regarded as not having a soul above a beaver skin, used to retire to his fort and offer up prayer for those in peril by land and sea."

Hubert Bancroft gives a picture of McLoughlin visiting in person some parts of his vast domain to inspect its management. It is of special interest because his squaw wife enters upon the scene. Seated astride the finest horse, whose trappings were ornamented with colored quills, beads, and fringes, to which hung tiny bells that tinkled with every motion, herself dressed in a petticoat of the finest blue broadcloth, with embroidered scarlet leggings, and moccasins stiff with the most costly beads, her black braided hair surmounted by a hat trimmed with gay ribbon or supporting drooping feathers, she presented a picture, if not as elegant as that of a lady of the sixteenth century at a hawking party, yet quite as striking and brilliant.

When the caravan was in progress it was a panorama of

gayety, as each man of the party, from the chief trader and clerk down to the last trapper in the train, filed past with his ever-present and faithful helpmate in her prettiest dress. After them came the Indian boys, driving the pack-horses, with goods and camp utensils. Indeed, the camp equipage consisted of everything necessary for comfortable lodging and a bountiful table, the cook being an important member of the numerous retinue. Here was feudalism on the western seaboard. The Canadian farmers were serfs to all intents and purposes, yet with such a kindly lord that they scarcely felt their bondage; or if they felt it, it was for their good.

When McLoughlin first went to Oregon the religious conditions of the Indians were surprising and for a moment were even to him perplexing. Bonneville, writing in 1634, says that "the Flatheads, Nez Percés, and Cayuses had a strong devotional feeling. So well advanced in the Christian religion were they, that they would not raise their camps on Sunday, nor fish, hunt, or trade on that day except in cases of severe necessity, but passed a portion of the day in religious ceremonies, the chiefs leading the devotions, and afterward giving a sort of sermon upon abstaining from lying, stealing, cheating, and quarreling, and the duty of being hospitable to strangers. Prayers and exhortations were also made in the morning on week-days, often by the chief on horseback, moving slowly about the camp, and giving his instructions in a loud voice, the people listening with attention, and at the end of every sentence responding one word in unison, apparently equivalent to amen. While these ceremonials were going on every employment was suspended. If an Indian was riding by, he dismounted and attended with reverence until the conclusion. When the chief had finished, he said, 'I have done,' upon which there was an exclamation in unison. With these religious services probably derived from the white men, the tribes above mentioned mingle some of their old Indian ceremonials, such as dancing to the cadence of song or ballad, which is generally done in a large lodge provided for the purpose. Besides Sundays, they likewise observe the cardinal holidays of the Roman Catholic Church." (Irving's "Bon-

neville's Adventures," pp. 389-90.) John Wyeth, who also gives these savages a good character, says: "I know not what to say of their religion. I saw nothing like images or any objects of worship whatever, and yet they appeared to keep a sabbath, for there is a day on which they do not hunt nor gamble, but sit moping all day and look like fools. There certainly appeared among them an honor, or conscience, and sense of justice. They would do what they promised, and return our strayed horses and lost articles." ("Oregon," p. 54.) Townsend was equally struck with the religious character of the Nez Percés and Cayuses, and after describing their family worship, concludes by saying: "I never was more gratified by any exhibition in my life. The humble, subdued, and beseeching looks of the poor untutored beings who were calling upon their Heavenly Father to forgive their sins, and continue His mercies to them, and the evident and heartfelt sincerity which characterized the whole scene, was truly affecting, and very impressive." (Nar., p. 107.) Elijah White, in a letter to the "Oregon Spectator" of November 12, 1846, says: "Indeed, the red men of that region would almost seem to be of a different order from those with whom we have been in more familiar intercourse." Parker himself often remarked upon the reverence and attention with which the Flatheads and Nez Percés listened to his devotional exercises, in which they joined with an intelligence that surprised him. The effect of the teaching they had some time had was apparent in the exhibition of that hospitality, care for others, and general good conduct to which he often referred. On one of his journeys with these people he says: "One sabbath day, about eight in the morning, some of the chiefs came to me and asked where they should assemble. I asked them if they could not be accommodated in the willows which skirted the stream of water on which we were encamped. They thought not. I then inquired if they could not take the poles of some of their lodges and construct a shade. They thought they could; and without any other directions went and made preparation, and about eleven o'clock came and said they were ready for worship. I found them all assembled, men, women, and children, between

four and five hundred, in what I would call a sanctuary of God, constructed with their lodges, nearly one hundred feet long, and about twenty feet wide, and all were arranged in rows, through the length of the building, upon their knees, with a narrow space in the middle, lengthwise, resembling an aisle. The whole area within was carpeted with their dressed skins, and they were all attired in their best. The chiefs were arranged in a semicircle at the end which I was to occupy. I could not have believed they had the means, or could have known how to have constructed so convenient and so decent a place for worship, and especially as it was the first time they had had public worship. The whole sight taken together sensibly affected me and filled me with astonishment; and I felt as though it was the house of God and the gate of heaven. They all continued in their kneeling position during singing and prayer, and when I closed prayer with amen, they all said what was equivalent in their language to amen. And when I commenced the sermon they sunk back upon their heels. Nothing could be more evident than that at some time some influential and competent teacher had laid the foundations of religion and morality with conscientious care. Who he was, whence he came, or whither he went, is almost purely conjectural.”—PARKER’S *“Jour., Ex. Tour.”*

There is nothing “conjectural” about it. It is well known that the religious knowledge and practices of the Oregon Indians were a gift from the Iroquois Indians, who had come out to the Pacific from the Indian Reservation of Caughnawaga, near Montreal. Irving gives in “Astoria” the names of the first two Iroquois who arrived on the Lower Columbia. They were Régis-Brugière, a half-breed, and Ignace Shonowene, a full-blooded Iroquois. These two apostles—for such they were—told the Indians of the Pacific all about the priests of Canada, and aided by the French Canadian trappers instructed them in the rites and ceremonies practised by the Catholic red men of the East. As a result of all this, deputation after deputation was sent to St. Louis as early as 1831 to ask for priests. There they met General Clark, whom they had known when he came among

them in the Lewis and Clark Expedition. According to Bancroft ("Oregon," vol. i, p. 55, note) Clark was a Catholic, but Marshall, in the "Acquisition of Oregon," insists that he was nothing of the kind, but a prominent freemason for years, and was buried with masonic rites. Nevertheless, he put them in the hands of Bishop Rosati. The sequel of the embassy was the inception of the great missionary career of Father De Smet. But it was not until 1840 that he was able to begin the work. Meantime some of the Flatheads had died in St. Louis, and old Ignace, the Iroquois who had first inaugurated the movement, set out to urge the request, but was killed by a band of hostiles whom he met on the way. It is one of the extraordinary events in Indian history, for the reason that these Iroquois of Caughnawaga were the descendants of the savages for whom Father Jogues had died on the banks of the Mohawk in 1646.

Meantime the news of the Flathead petition had reached the Protestant missionary bodies. It was said that "the Indians had journeyed to St. Louis to obtain a bible, but could not find one in that old Indian and papal city." Even Clark, the great freemason, was unable to furnish one. Hence the parsons immediately started a movement to evangelize these forsaken red men and began to arrive in Oregon as early as 1834. McLoughlin received them most cordially, and as they were nearly always in a state of destitution, he provided lavishly for their wants. He furnished them with food, for they were often starving, advanced them money, which they usually forgot to repay, assigned them land for business as well as church purposes, and again and again protected them against the savages.

The missionaries, both Methodists and Presbyterians, immediately addressed themselves to the work of evangelizing the Flatheads. That was their object in coming from the East, but they soon gave it up in disgust. They could make no impression on these savages, who were expecting the black gowns, and they had no success except with a few of the Cayuse tribe, who afterward turned upon them. They then fancied they had found excellent material for proselytism in a settlement of French Canadians which McLoughlin had established in the valley, but

there again they were forestalled. The factor himself and his wife had been regularly instructing these expatriated Canadians in the teachings and duties of their Faith. The coming of the Catholic priests, their success with the Indians, and McLoughlin's active work in preventing the perversion of the French settlers, and his pronounced Catholicity easily explain the bitter animosity of the Protestant missionaries in his regard.

This feeling was intensified by what is commonly known as the Whitman massacre, which occurred in 1847. Whitman was an evangelical worker, but not a minister; he merely helped the cause as a physician, the field of his activities being among the Cayuses, a tribe which a glance at the map will show lived a long distance south of the Flatheads. It lay between the Cascade and Blue Mountains. Whitman was unfortunate in the handling of his patients, especially in his too generous use of strychnine as a specific. The consequences were that a good many of the red men died. That was enough to put his life in danger, but when his model Christian convert, Jo Lewis, told the tribe that he heard Whitman and Spalding plotting to remove all the Indians, so as to get their lands, the missionary's fate was sealed. On November 29, 1847, he and Mrs. Whitman and several others were killed. Spalding escaped, and though his life was saved by the intervention of Father Brouillet he accused the priests of instigating the massacre.

Twenty years after Whitman's death Spalding concocted a story which got into all the school books of the land. It told "How Whitman saved Oregon" by making known to the United States Government the existence of an overland wagon route. He had left Oregon in 1842 to warn President Tyler and Daniel Webster not to sell Oregon for some codfisheries on the shores of Newfoundland and then organized a great army of immigrants, whom he led across the mountains in 1843. Neither the mendacity nor the absurdity of the story prevented the general public from accepting it as true, and Whitman was hailed as a great patriot and a hero. The indignation of Marshall, who confesses that he was for a long time a victim of the fraud

and then wrote two immense volumes entitled "Acquisition of Oregon" to expose it, is almost amusing.

In 1838 Father Blanchet came to Oregon, and he and McLoughlin at once became close friends. The most recent book that furnishes us any information on what occurred in the spiritual life of McLoughlin at that time is "Pioneer Catholic History of Oregon," by Edwin V. O'Hara. It gives the traditional story about McLoughlin's religious belief, and tells us that he was converted by reading Milner's "End of Controversy," and it goes on to say that after making his abjuration and profession of faith at the hands of the vicar-general on November 18, 1842, he went to confession, had his marriage blessed on the same day, and prepared himself for his first communion by fasting during the four weeks of Advent, which he passed on his claim at Willamette Falls (now Oregon City). But on page 139 of the same book the writer withdraws all that he had previously asserted and informs us that he had given the current view of McLoughlin's religious opinions on pages 3 and 13; but since those pages had gone to press, the Rev. A. Hillebrand had submitted considerations which satisfied him that McLoughlin was not only reared a Catholic and had remained such all his life, but that both his parents were Catholics and lived until he reached early manhood; not only that, but that his brother and sisters were all reared practical Catholics and one of the girls had become a nun. In brief, Dr. McLoughlin had been for forty years on the frontier, and Father Blanchet merely came on the scene and brought to him the sacraments of the Church. Such is the real story of McLoughlin's supposed conversion by Bishop Blanchet.

Added to this admission by Blanchet's biographer, we have in Marshall's "Acquisition of Oregon" sufficient reason to conclude that "The Recollections" are absolutely wrong. He gives us the testimony of three of the most prominent Protestant ministers who were in Oregon before and after Bishop Blanchet's arrival. They are Jason Lee, Gustavus Hines, and Marcus Whitman. In a letter from Jason Lee, dated Mission House, Willamette River, March 14, 1836 ("Acquisition of

Oregon," vol. i, p. 331), we read. "*McLoughlin was a Catholic* and he headed the list with £6 for the use of the American Methodist Mission." On June 1, 1840, at Fort Vancouver, Mr. Hines writes: "*Dr. McLoughlin, though a Catholic himself*, received us with much cordiality," p. 332. On July 31, 1841 (p. 350), Dr. Whitman wrote a six-page letter to D. Greene, Secretary, in which he writes: "I believe I have told you that Mr. McLoughlin and Mr. Pambrun were *the only two professed Catholics* among the gentlemen of the company with whom we have to do business."

How, then, are we to solve the difficulty raised by the "Historical Sketches of the Catholic Church in Oregon During the Past Forty Years," which the very editor of Marshall's "Acquisition of Oregon," Mr. C. B. Bagley, insists is the correct statement of McLoughlin's religious belief, notwithstanding the letters of the missionaries which he himself quotes?

It may be answered that the "Recollections" were written nearly forty years after the event in question, and the memory of the writer may easily have been at fault. Indeed, Blanchet gives two dates for the conversion. What is called McLoughlin's "First Communion" may have been merely his "first communion" after many years of absence from the sacraments. Finally, there could not have been any question of abjuration or profession of faith in the case of McLoughlin, as he had not only never been out of the Church or spoken against it, but had constantly labored for it, had protected his Catholic dependents from being captured by Protestant proselyters, had established a school for their instruction, assembled them for divine service on Sunday and taught them their catechism. As his wife was engaged in the same work with him, it is more than likely that he had made her a Catholic, if she was not one already. Moreover, the fact that he had always refused to accept the services of a Protestant minister to validate his marriage is a proof of his Catholicity. McLoughlin had been married in the only way possible for a Hudson Bay man living in the wilderness. He had made a public avowal of the marriage and had the contract recorded in the company's books. It was perfectly

valid, and though he was importuned by the parsons, particularly by Beaver, the Anglican chaplain at Vancouver, to have the blessing of the Protestant Church, he refused, and in the altercation that ensued he struck the parson with his cane. He properly recognized that such a ministration could not add to the validity of the contract nor confer any sacramental grace. When the priest arrived, of course McLoughlin, like the genuine Catholic that he was, had the marriage blessed.

While in the midst of these difficulties with the missionaries a new problem presented itself. Settlers began to pour in from the United States to take possession of the land. The first immigration took place in 1841. But of the one hundred and twenty-five who came that year fully one-half left in the spring for California. In 1843 another band, numbering 875, men, women, and children, started from Fort Independence, Mo., on their long journey across the Rockies to the Pacific. They were led by Peter H. Burnett, who afterward became the first Governor of California, and is known to the reading public as the author of "The Path that Led a Protestant Lawyer to the Catholic Religion." Looking over the list of emigrants, we discover only a few names in any way suggestive of Catholicity. There is a James Brady, a family of Delaneys, a Daniel Cronin, a Doherty, a McGee, a McGarry, a McHaley, two O'Briens, an O'Neil, and a Trainor; but all the rest were what people in those days used to call "native Americans."

After six months of terrible suffering they reached Fort Vancouver. Their condition is thus described by Bancroft ("History of N. W. Coast," vol. ii, p. 706): "These lean, cadaverous, dirt-tanned ox-drivers, with bushy heads and dull, unintelligent eyes, followed by famine-visaged women and children, cold and ill, barefooted and with only rags for raiment, arriving in the wet autumn, absolutely without a dollar in any kind of property, having lost all upon their way, and many of their former companions, even their lives, what were they going to do in this cold, cheerless wilderness without house or tent or hut even, without blankets or clothes or meat or bread? Simply starve."

But McLoughlin was there. Because of their misery he received them with open arms, in spite of the suspicion with which he knew they regarded him. He had already sent boats up the river to convey provisions to save them from starvation, and when they swarmed around the fort he gave them plentiful food and good shelter, lands to settle on, and seed to plant and implements to cultivate their farms, and even money, much of which was never returned. By many of his beneficiaries he was rewarded only with bitter hatred. But his large heart would have prompted such benignity and bounty no matter who were the recipients. Moreover, independently of the humanity of the act, it was the most politic course that could be pursued. Had he acted otherwise, and allowed that multitude of human beings to perish in the wilderness, as the company of which he was the representative insisted he should do, not only would he and the Hudson Bay Company have been branded with eternal infamy, but the very first act of that famishing throng, who were well armed, would have been to attack the fort and slaughter its inmates. McLoughlin's prudence as well as his humanity averted such a disaster. He welcomed and helped them, though, as Bancroft points out, the Protestant mission through which they passed not only gave them no assistance, but contrived to secure some of their cattle. It will be of interest to know that John C. Fremont and Kit Carson were in Fort Vancouver when some of their destitute fellow-countrymen arrived.

In the following year the number of immigrants was no less than 1400, and in 1845, 3000 arrived. In both instances the sufferings and destitution endured in that six months' journey were even greater than in that of 1843, yet each time saw a repetition of the same magnificent generosity on the part of the factor of Vancouver.

It was a comparatively easy task to keep the natives at peace, but this immigration of an ever-increasing multitude of ignorant and prejudiced whites, who regarded him as an intruder, an aggressor, and an enemy, presented a new and difficult problem. The territory was still in dispute between England and

the United States, and a joint occupancy had been agreed upon, but in three years the country which had been up to that a wilderness was invaded by 5000 Americans, all of whom nurtured in their hearts an intense hatred of everything British. The war cry of "fifty-four forty or fight" had been uttered, and not only a failure to grasp the difficulty of the situation, but the slightest lack of prudence or even courtesy on the part of any of the employees of the Hudson Bay Company would have precipitated a war between the two nations. McLoughlin saw the danger, and again and again entreated the managers of the company, as well as the home government itself, to protect the interests of the traders, but he was told to shift for himself. It was fully six months after he had given the warning that two warships entered the Columbia, ostensibly to give aid, but in reality to spy on the factor's actions. Even the loyalty of Douglas, whom he had been training for years to be his successor, could not be relied upon, and McLoughlin was denounced not only as being American in his sympathies, but as doing everything possible to hand over the territory to the United States. He was forbidden absolutely to render any assistance in the future to the immigrants, and when he indignantly protested that to do so would be a violation of the most fundamental principles of humanity and almost a declaration of war between the two countries, the order was nevertheless insisted on.

Placed between his conscience and his alleged duty to a soulless corporation, whose only purpose was money-making, and whose rights to the territory, based as they were on the extravagant charter of Charles II, had constantly been denied even by Englishmen themselves, he did not hesitate. He had been twenty-one years at his post and had poured millions into the treasury of the Hudson Bay Company, but all that counted for nothing. In 1842 his resignation was accepted, and from his almost regal power he descended not only into poverty and neglect, but into antagonism with the people among whom his lot had been cast. They persisted in regarding him as a British subject, as responsible for the murder of the missionaries, and as a legitimate object for racial and religious antipathy.

It is noteworthy that the fall of McLoughlin pulled down the pillars on the Hudson Bay Company itself. It was the first step in the dissolution of the great corporation. For when the boundary lines were fixed the activities of the Hudson Bay Company were shut out of Oregon and confined to British North America. In 1859 its trade monopoly was abolished by England and in 1869 it "surrendered to the Queen's Most Gracious Majesty all the rights of government, and other rights, liberties, and franchises, powers and authorities, granted or purported to be granted to the said government and company by the said recited Letters Patent of His Late Majesty King Charles II." Thus passed away the great company to which Charles II had granted a large part of the world.

McLoughlin was now by his own deliberate act shorn of all his former honors and power. Foreseeing the annexation of Oregon, he had staked out a claim at what is at present Oregon City. But the Methodist Mission societies set about wresting it from him to add it to their own possessions. He was denounced as a British subject, with no right to the property, and was charged with working all the while for the benefit of the Hudson Bay Company. To rob him of his rights all the misrepresentations and tricks that the most dishonest lawyers could devise were resorted to by the very men whom he had time and again saved from starvation. The ministers hated him for his religion, and the settlers, who were directly or indirectly from New England, were only too ready to show their bigotry. Public feeling was wrought up to such a degree that a bill was introduced in the Legislature to expel all priests from Oregon; a delegate was sent to Congress to denounce McLoughlin to the General Government, and Washington heard with astonishment that the greatest benefactor of Oregon was a Benedict Arnold, a Jesuit, a Wandering Jew, a Judas Iscariot. The accusations were believed and McLoughlin's claim was disallowed.

In his own defense McLoughlin wrote: "By British demagogues I have been represented as a traitor. For what? Because I acted as a Christian; saved American citizens, men, women, and children, from the Indian tomahawk and enabled

them to make farms to support their families. American demagogues have been base enough to assert that I had caused American citizens to be massacred by hundreds by the savages. I have been represented by the delegate from Oregon, the late S. R. Thurston, as doing all I could to prevent the settlement of Oregon, whereas I did all I could to promote its settlement. I could not have done more for the settlers if they had been my brothers and sisters, knowing as I did that any disturbance between us might lead to a war between Great Britain and the States. This is a treatment that I do not deserve and did not expect."

He was now nearing the end of his life, and his biographer Holman thus speaks of him: "Worried and troubled without surcease, Dr. McLoughlin maintained his grand but kindly attitude to the last. For several years before his death he was an invalid, but his pride assisted him to persevere and to transact such business as he could, although his heart was breaking. His flesh became greatly reduced, his eyes deeply sunken. He grew so emaciated that his great frame stood out, making him look gaunt and grim. For a few weeks only before his death he was confined to his bed.

Thus encompassed and overcome and crucified by robbery, mendacity, and ingratitude, Dr. McLoughlin died at Oregon City, September 3, 1857, a broken-hearted man. He was buried in the churchyard of the Roman Catholic Church in Oregon City, where his body now lies. The stone which marks his grave bears the simple inscription:

"Dr. John McLoughlin

Died

Sept. 3, 1857.

Aged

73 Years.

The Pioneer and Friend of Oregon.

Also the Founder of this City."

For five years the clouds of calumny hung over his humble grave. In October, 1862, the vindication came. The Donation

Law, which had impoverished him and incidentally impeded the growth of Oregon City, was revoked and McLoughlin's heirs came into their rights, or at least into part of them. It was an official recognition of the wrong that was done to the Father of Oregon and a denunciation of the conspiracy that had wrought his ruin. Thirty years afterward his portrait was placed over the Speaker's desk in the Senate with the title under it "Founder of Oregon." Numberless eulogies of him were pronounced by the most distinguished men of the Commonwealth and the histories of Oregon teem with his praise. One of these tributes may be partially quoted to give an idea of the esteem in which he is held. It is from Hubert Bancroft, the historian of the Western Coast.

"I shall speak but little here of his personal qualities. The man is known by his works. Suffice it to say, that he was of an altogether different order of humanity from any who had hitherto appeared upon these shores. Once seen, he was never forgotten. Before or after him, his like was unknown; for he was far above the mercenary fur-trader or the coarse, illiterate immigrant. As he appeared among his pygmy associates, white or red, there was an almost unearthly grandeur in his presence. Body, mind, and heart were all carved in gigantic proportions. His tall, powerful figure, over six feet in height, and broad in proportion, was usually arrayed in black, and crowned with long snow-white locks, falling over his shoulders, after the fashion of the day, which made the name White Eagle the natives gave him singularly appropriate. Likewise he was their King George, while his tramontane associates styled him the Emperor of the West. His eye was indeed that of an eagle, save that there was no murder in it. He was hasty in temper, and yet he seldom forgot himself; on some occasions he would burst into a passion which was harmless and quickly over, then again he was often calm under the most provoking circumstances; nor would he permit profane or ribald language in his presence.

"A strict disciplinarian, whose authority was absolute, his subordinates knew what to expect. In the management of forts and the business of the department, not the slightest devi-

ation from fixed rules was allowed. Indeed, so determined was he in character, so bent upon having his own way, that it was with difficulty the directory in London could control him.

"His influence over the savage mind was most remarkable. Before his coming to the Northwest Coast, as we have observed, it was not safe for white men to travel far except in armed bands. We shall soon see a different state of affairs in this respect under his benignant rule. We shall see achieved by his wise and humane policy a bloodless revolution, savage foes metamorphosed into steadfast friends, a wilderness teeming with treachery into a garden of safe repose.

"It is not so easy as it was to worship men. It is not so easy as it was to worship anything—except money. The world is getting old and rheumatic; and with a sense of its own infirmities comes a sense of infirmity in all things. We used to adore nature, bathing in sunshine, reveling in woods, and floating down calm currents. But with the balmy air come now flying bugs; rattlesnakes creep through the waving grass; and beneath the placid sun-silvered waters the big fish are all devouring the little fish. Why are men made like fishes? Nature is no longer adorable. Nature is a fascinating fraud. Nature is a failure.

"Now, were I in the worshipful mood, before this man I might bend my stiff knee, nor heed its cracking. Why? What is there of great-man-ism about him? He is not a statesman, for his hands are clean, his tongue is single, and self comes not always before duty. He is not a money magnate, for looking into his breast and then beyond the stars he sees some things more brightly fair, more worthy the attention of immortal mind than golden calves. He is not a divinity man, nor a conventional morality man; he teaches and preaches only as does a shining mark upon a hill-top beckoning pilgrims onward and upward; furthermore, he walks within no circle of tradition, and opens not his mouth with musty sayings to ears attuned to unreason and conventional hypocrisy. He is not a subsidy-seeking railway incorporator, nor a mine manipulator, nor an agitator; before any of these the unservile knee refuses to bend.

"I think of him as if present; and so he is, though he were

dead this quarter century and more. I never saw him, and yet I see him; I never heard him, and yet he speaks to me now; I never grasped his hand, but I feel his presence, and am the better for it. The good that a man does lives after him, saith the seer; and in writing this volume, I have encountered few characters which stand out in such grand and majestic proportions. Few persons have done him justice. His life should be written by the recording angel and pillared at the crossing of the two chief highways of the universe. His fiery gentleness, his mild energy, his innate goodness and nobleness of heart, his magnanimity, his benevolence, his unfathomable integrity, and his clearness and firmness of intellect have all been told. Search these shores from Darien to Alaska and you find none such; take your books and study them from the coming of Europeans to your last municipal or state election, and you will discover no such person portrayed. His life though quiet and untrumpeted was full of glory; yet, like many another good man, his end was not a happy one, for in his old age he was caught in a web of legal technicalities which proved his winding-sheet.

"It was the sad ending of a long career of usefulness and benevolence. His record is one of which any man, however high or holy, might be proud. It is absolutely stainless, wholly noble; of how many of his judges can as much be said? Englishmen as well as Americans may blush for their treatment of him, for their heaping of sorrow upon his venerable head, for their lacerating of his pure and sensitive heart.

"But what shall I say of the poor wretches McLoughlin saved from death? Better have let them die, some of them. Some of them were good and true, working with a will, they and their wives and their children, until their benefactor was every dollar paid, and ever after holding his name in grateful remembrance. These were the salt of Oregon; and let their posterity ever call them blessed. But of those who in their dire distress received the old man's kindness and never acknowledged it; of those who received kindness and repaid it only in vilifying their benefactor, I say, better tenfold those men had been left to die, and that no offspring upon whom the disgrace of

such parentage had fallen should ever have encumbered the earth."

Such eulogies abound. They are proper tributes to the greatness of a man whose nobility of character prosperity did not impair, and who when adversity clouded his declining years, recognized in it the benignant Providence of God working in mysterious ways for his good. A victory over his enemies might have diminished the beauty of his soul; and so out of love for him his vindication came only after the grave had closed over his venerated remains. His greatness is recognized and his work is summed up in the inscription under his portrait, "John McLoughlin, Founder of Oregon."

MISSION WORK AMONG COLORED CATHOLICS

BY THOMAS F. MEEHAN, A.M.

One of the great problems for the Church in the United States is that of missionary progress among the colored people, and it is of interest to observe how it is being solved.

There are now four colored priests in the United States: Rev. John H. Dorsey, ordained in Baltimore in 1902, engaged in mission work in the South; Rev. Joseph Burgess, ordained in Paris, 1907, teacher at Apostolic College, Cornwells, Pa.; Rev. Stephen Louis Theobald, ordained at St. Paul's Seminary, St. Paul, Minn., 1910; Rev. Charles R. Uncles, ordained in Baltimore in 1891, teacher in Epiphany College, Baltimore. There were two others: the Rev. Augustus Tolton, the first negro priest in the United States, ordained at Propaganda, Rome, 1888; died at Chicago, 1902, and the Rev. Joseph J. Plantrigue, ordained in Baltimore in 1907; died there 1913.

It is a curious historical fact that the first native American to be consecrated a bishop was a negro. He was Francisco Xavier de Luna Victoria, Bishop of Panama, of which see he took possession on August 15, 1751. He was the son of a freed negro slave who toiled as a charcoal burner to educate his son for the sacred ministry. Panama in those days was a city of importance, and Bishop Victoria, who was a wise and zealous prelate, lavishly adorned its cathedral church at his own expense. He was transferred to the See of Trujillo, Peru, in 1759. There has been no other negro bishop in America since.

Mindful of their high office the bishops of America have bent their efforts toward the evangelization of the negro and have zealously promoted this work.

The report of the mission work done among Catholic negroes, issued in January, 1915, by the Commission of the hierarchy of which Cardinal Gibbons, Cardinal Farley, and Archbishop Prendergast are the distributing committee, gives this table:

DIOCESES OR VICARIATES APOSTOLIC	Negro Popula- tion	Catholic Negroes	Churches	Priests	BAPTISMS		Schools	Pupils	SISTERHOODS	INSTITUTIONS
					Chil- dren	Adults				
* Alexandria.....	300,000	6,000	4	2	211	6	8	446	Sisters of Divine Providence	{ St. Elizabeth's Home, St.
Baltimore.....	25,500	25,500	6	14			5	1320	{ Oblates, Franciscans, Good Shepherd	{ Francis' Sch., Gd. Shep.
Charleston.....	900,000	1,000	2	1	33	25	3	510	Sisters of Mercy	{ Old Folks' Home,
Chicago.....	80,000	1,500	1	1	60	48	1	190	Sisters of Blessed Sacrament	{ City Hospital,
Cincinnati.....										{ Illinois Technical Sch.
Columbus.....										{ St. Elizabeth's and St.
Covington.....	90,000	180	1	1	9	25	1	40	Sisters of Charity	{ Joseph's Hospitals
Dallas.....	200,000	250	1	2	35	10	1	90	Sisters of the Holy Ghost	{ Good Shepherd Convent
Galveston.....	150,000	1,150	3	3	62	11	3	234	Sisters of the Holy Family	
Indianapolis.....	40,000	200	1	1	3	31	1	90	Sisters of St. Francis	{ Guardian Angels' Orph.
Kansas City.....	50,000	550	2	1	20	14	2	90	Sisters of Providence	{ House of Providence
Leavenworth.....	500,000	189	2	2	15	11	2	290	Sisters of the Holy Ghost	
Little Rock.....		4,365	3	2	132	59	9	586	Sisters of Charity, Ursulines	
Louisville.....									Good Shepherd, Loretto	
Mobile.....	908,275	5,379	15	12	542		14	1090	Sisters of St. Joseph	{ City Hospital, St. Vin-
Nashville.....	75,000	600	3	3	22	35	3	385	Sisters of Holy Ghost, Mercy	{ cent's Hospital
Natchez.....	907,690	3,073	12	11	357	85	12	1141	Sisters of Blessed Sacrament	
New Orleans.....	108,846	37,040	8	9	3327	208	33	2606	Sisters of Holy Ghost, Fran-	St. Ann's Home, Natchez
New York—Bahamas.....	120,000	3,160	6	9	179	130	8	724	Perpetual Adoration, Holy	{ Orphanage, 2 Asylums
North Carolina.....	70,000	389	3	1					Family, Mercy, Sacred Heart	{ 2 Industrial Schools
Philadelphia.....	60,000	2,500	3	5	59	40	6	512	{ Sisters of Blessed Sacrament	{ Institute, Gd. Shepherd
Pittsburg.....	40,000	1,000	1	1	12	9	2	236	{ Srs. of Charity, Franciscans	{ St. Benedict's Home
Richmond.....	450,000	1,400	11	7	83	137	12	630	{ Srs. of Charity, Franciscans	{ Helpers of Holy Souls
St. Augustine.....	321,000	2,000	2						{ Dominican Sisters	{ Sisters of Assumption,
St. Louis.....									{ Sisters of the Blessed Sacra-	{ Spencer Mountain
San Antonio.....	50,000	500	1	1	25	20	7	316	ment, Notre Dame	{ St. Magdalen's Asylum
Savannah.....	1,150,000	875	7	11	45	78	10	1032	Franciscan Sisters	{ Industrial School
Wilmington.....		500	2	4	25	6	3	255	Sisters of St. Joseph	{ Van de Vyver College, St.
									{ Sisters of Holy Name	{ Emma's Col., Ind. School
									{ Sisters of Providence	Orphan Asylum
									Sisters of the Holy Spirit	2 Girls' Indus. Homes
									Franciscan Sisters	

*1,500 Mexican Indians.

To these twenty-eight centers the sum of \$68,600 was contributed by the Commission for the Work of the Colored Missions out of the total of the amount given in the annual collection taken up all over the United States for the Indian and negro missions.

It is to be noted that for New York, in the foregoing table, mention is made only of the Bahamas mission, which was taken over in 1886, having been attended previous to that date from the diocese of Charleston, S. C. In addition to this work there are two churches for colored Catholics in New York City, and a home for children at Rye, Westchester County, particulars of which will be given later on. It is estimated that there are 95,000 negroes in the five boroughs of New York City: 65,000 in Manhattan Island; 22,000 in Brooklyn; 3000 in Queens; 4000 in the Bronx, and 1000 in Richmond. Of these only about 3000 are Catholics. In New York also is located the headquarters, at No. 1 Madison Avenue, of the Catholic Board for Mission Work among the Colored People, of which the Right Rev. Mgr. John E. Burke is the Director-General, with the Rev. Denis J. Bustin and the Rev. David J. Mountain as his assistants. In the report this board makes for 1915 it is stated:

"We are often asked what are the net results of our work by people to whom interest in the colored work is new, and in reply we state briefly that our first aim is *support*. We strive to give a monthly allowance, small though it be, to every priest and Sister working among the negroes, that would otherwise be in real personal distress. This amounts, now, to \$2,495 per month. If there be any amount in the treasury after these are paid, it is given for new missions, or for refitting the old ones. We have appropriated \$53,988 for building purposes, mostly for schools.

"Since 1907, when this board was incorporated, 40 new missions have been opened; the number of colored children in Catholic schools has been increased by 5000, and converts are coming into the Church so fast that the present corps of priests and Sisters are unable to cope with the work."

On the financial side the report shows that from October, 1907, to May, 1914, the receipts were about \$200,000, which

amount has been expended in the work of missions among the colored people.

The Oblate Sisters of Providence, a Congregation to care for colored girls, was founded in Baltimore, July 2, 1829, under the auspices of the Sulpician priests, by four colored women—Elizabeth Lange, Rosa Boegues, Magdalen Balas, and Teresa Duchemin. They have eleven other missions now in Washington, D. C.; St. Louis, Mo.; Leavenworth, Kan.; Cuba, and in Old Providence and Catania, islands off the coast of Central America. They have charge of 3 orphanages and 10 parish schools sheltering 1500 colored children. The Congregation numbers 112 Sisters and 22 novices.

Another Congregation, the Sisters of the Holy Family, was founded in New Orleans, November 21, 1842, under the direction of Father Rousselon, V.G., by Harriet Delisle, Juliette Gaudin, Josephine Charles, and Mlle. Alicot, "free women of color," who gave to the work their private fortunes, which were considerable. Besides schools they have homes for aged and infirm men and women and an orphan asylum, their foundations being located at Opelousas, Donaldsonville, and Baton Rouge. The mother house in New Orleans occupies the site of the old Orleans Theater, which before the Civil War was the scene of the famous "quadroon balls." They have houses and schools also in the Dioceses of Galveston and San Antonio. There are 108 Sisters, 10 novices, and 4 postulants, and in the schools 2355 children.

The white Franciscan Sisters of Mill Hill, England, and the Sisters of the Blessed Sacrament, founded by Mother Katherine Drexel, give their time especially to conducting schools for negroes, and the Sisters of sixteen other religious congregations also have that as part of their work. The Fathers of the American branch of the Society of St. Joseph, which has its headquarters at Baltimore, has 54 priests laboring for the education and evangelizing of the negro in 10 States, 12 dioceses, and engaged in the same missions are members of the Society of Jesus, the Society of the Divine Word, the Fathers of the Holy Ghost, and the Fathers of the Society of the African

Missions. Early in 1915 Mother Drexel purchased the old site of the Southern University in New Orleans, and has devoted it to the higher college and scientific and domestic training for colored girls.

A fraternal insurance society called the Knights of St. Peter Claver was organized at Mobile, Ala., on November 7, 1909, which has a national council and eleven subordinate councils with a membership of between three and four hundred.

While notable progress is being made in Catholic development among the negro population of the United States, the percentage is still very low. In the "Negro Year Book" for 1914-15, published at Tuskegee Institute, the following table, showing the development of the race in the half century since the emancipation, presents many instructive suggestions in regard to what has to be done for the Catholic Missions to meet the demands of the situation:

ECONOMIC PROGRESS		Gain in 50 Years
Homes owned	550,000	541,000
Farms operated	937,000	922,000
Business conducted	40,000	38,000
Wealth accumulated	\$700,000,000	\$699,980,000

EDUCATIONAL PROGRESS		
Per cent. literate.....	70	65
Number of colleges and normal schools	500	496
Students in public schools.....	1,700,000	1,690,000
Teachers in all schools.....	35,000	34,850
School property for higher educa- tion	\$20,000,000	\$19,950,000
Expenditures for education.....	\$13,600,000	\$13,400,000
Raised by negroes for their educa- tion	\$1,500,000	\$1,490,000

RELIGIOUS PROGRESS		
Number of churches.....	40,000	39,450
Number of communicants.....	4,300,000	3,750,000
Number of Sunday schools.....	41,000	40,800
Number of Sunday school pupils..	2,200,000	2,190,000
Value of church property.....	\$70,000,000	\$69,000,000

Catholic solicitude for the spiritual welfare of the negro in this country is by no means of recent growth. The Republic of Liberia, on the west coast of Africa, originated in a scheme of the American Colonization Society to found in Africa a place to which free negroes and persons of African descent might return from the United States. The venerable Charles Carroll of Carrollton, the Catholic Signer of the Declaration of Independence, was at one time president of this Colonization Society, which sent out its first colony to Africa on February 6, 1820. A number of Catholics from Maryland and the adjoining States were among these pioneer settlers. At the request of the Congregation of Propaganda, and in answer to reports received at Rome, the second Plenary Council of Baltimore undertook to provide for their spiritual needs. The Rev. John Kelly of New York (brother of Eugene Kelly, the banker), and the Rev. Edward Barron of Philadelphia volunteered for this mission and sailed from Baltimore for Africa on December 21, 1841. A year later Father Barron, finding the work of the mission greater than was expected, came back for more help, was consecrated a titular bishop in Rome and made Vicar-Apostolic of the two Guineas. With Father Kelly he remained in Africa two years, and then, wasted by fever, they were forced to return to the United States. He died of yellow fever while ministering to the sick during an epidemic at Savannah, Ga., September 12, 1854. Father Kelly, after a long pastorate, died at St. Peter's, Jersey City, N. J., April 28, 1866. The mission they founded in Africa still continues. The Fathers of the Holy Ghost took it up when Father Kelly and Bishop Barron were forced to leave, and since 1906 it has been under the care of the Priests of the African Missions, whose headquarters are at Lyons, France.

During the anti-slavery agitation of the Civil War era the colored people had stanch advocates in New York in Dr. Orestes A. Brownson, the famous philosopher and publicist; the Rev. Dr. J. W. Cummings, rector of St. Stephen's Church; the Rev. Thomas Farrell, rector of St. Joseph's, Sixth Avenue and Washington Place, and the Rev. Dr. Edward McGlynn and Rev. Dr.

Richard Lalor Burtzell, the last two then young priests. Many colored people lived in the vicinity of St. Joseph's, and Father Farrell was regarded as the special and very enthusiastic champion of the race. He was born in County Longford, Ireland, in 1823, and came to the United States as a boy. He was educated at Mount St. Mary's, Emmitsburg, and ordained a priest there in 1847; the following year he was appointed chaplain of the old convent of Mount St. Vincent, then located in what is now the northeastern end of Central Park. Father Farrell died as pastor of St. Joseph's in 1880, and by his will left \$5,000 in Alabama State bonds to found a church for the colored Catholics of New York. The Rev. Dr. Burtzell and Rev. Dr. McGlynn were named as the executors to carry out the bequest, a further stipulation being that if it was not acted upon within three years the bonds were to be turned over to the Colored Orphan Asylum.

Dr. Burtzell was at that time pastor of the Church of the Epiphany. In accordance with Father Farrell's desire he purchased the old Universalist church in Bleecker Street, and after the necessary alterations were made it was dedicated under the patronage of St. Benedict the Moor, on November 18, 1883, as New York's first church for colored Catholics. The Rev. John E. Burke, one of his assistants in the Epiphany parish, was made the first pastor of the new congregation. He has, therefore, spent thirty years in exclusive work for the colored people. Here the congregation worshiped until May 1, 1898, when a German Protestant church was purchased and St. Benedict's was moved to its present location in West Fifty-third Street, the colored colony that centered about the Minetta Lane and Thompson Street districts having pushed uptown with the changes of the neighborhood. The old church was sold to an Italian congregation, and is now the Church of Our Lady of Pompeii. In 1886 Father Burke established St. Benedict's Home in MacDougal Street, which in 1890 was moved to the spacious grounds at Rye, where nearly two hundred colored boys and girls are cared for under the direction of the Sisters of St. Francis. He continued as pastor of St. Benedict's until

1907, when he was appointed Director-General of the Catholic Board for Mission Work Among the Colored People, then established by the hierarchy of the United States. The Rev. Thomas M. O'Keefe, who was also from the Epiphany parish, succeeded him in charge of St. Benedict's, which continues to be a finely organized church, with a number of flourishing sodalities and social organizations to promote the spiritual and temporal welfare of its men, women, and young people. It is the missionary headquarters for the colored Catholics of the city. The Rev. Thomas Shanley is the assistant pastor.

The pastor of St. Benedict's had long hoped to open a school for his children in Harlem. In 1911 he asked permission of Cardinal Farley to secure the services of the Sisters of the Blessed Sacrament of Cornwells, Pa. His Eminence heartily approved of the plan, and Father O'Keefe at once invited Mother Katherine's community to the city. The invitation was accepted, but a new phase changed these plans. In April, 1912, His Eminence desired to make St. Mark's Church, in West One Hundred and Thirty-eighth Street, a headquarters for work among the colored population in that section of Harlem. Father O'Keefe was not able to assume the debt on St. Mark's, in addition to the burden he bears, and, therefore, the Holy Ghost Fathers were invited to take charge and did so in September. Five of Mother Katherine Drexel's Sisters of the Blessed Sacrament from Cornwells, Pa., came with them and established a school in One Hundred and Thirty-fourth Street, which has nearly two hundred children. Property near the church in One Hundred and Thirty-eighth Street has since been purchased for a parish school. A second prospering colored congregation has thus been founded in New York. It might be noted also that it was the Holy Ghost Fathers that succeeded Father Kelly in Africa.

In 1886 the mission of the Bahama Islands, which had previously been attended from the diocese of Charleston, S. C., was transferred by the Holy See to the jurisdiction of New York. The Right Rev. Monsignor C. G. O'Keefe, now of Highland Falls, and the late Rev. D. P. O'Flynn, were the first New York

pastors there, being succeeded by the Benedictine Fathers, who now attend the mission. In 1889 the Sisters of Charity of Mount St. Vincent, under the late Sister M. Dolores Van Rensselaer, took charge of the schools of the mission on the island.

It can not be definitely stated when the first Catholic negro located in New York, but it was probably at a very early date, after the Dutch settlement began.

In 1674 William Corvan, a mulatto freeman of Martinique, who was kidnapped and taken to Boston, where he hired himself for seven years as a servant to one Thomas Thatcher, was claimed by Thatcher as his slave and carried to New York. Corvan appealed to the New York courts, and Thatcher was ordered to prove his claim, otherwise "said mulatto shall be declared free."

In 1712 there were 4848 white residents in New York and 970 negroes. The year before a slave market had been located by a municipal ordinance providing "that slaves for hire stand in rank at the foot of Wall Street." Here the negroes captured in the prize-ships were sold as slaves with others. Among the victims also were Catholic Indians from the Spanish colonies,— "by reason of their color, which is swarthy," say the old records. A petition in behalf of some of these Indians to Governor Hunter received as his answer: "I secretly pitied their condition, but having no other evidence of what they asserted than their own words, I had it not in my power to relieve them."

This advertisement can be read in the files of the old New York *Gazette*: "Ran away the 18th of August, 1733, from Jacobus Van Cortlandt, of the City of New York, a negro man slave named Andrew Saxton—the shirts he had with him and on his back are marked with a cross on the left breast. He professeth himself to be a Roman Catholic; speaks very good English."

A petition was presented to Governor Clinton, on June 6, 1745, by Fernando Bernard, Fernando Bernal, and Antonio Agilar, Spanish negroes, on behalf of themselves and five other prisoners brought into port by a privateer, protesting against

being sold as slaves, as they were free Spanish subjects. In spite of this they were sold and held as slaves until July of the following year, when a Spanish vessel came into New York Bay with sixty-nine English prisoners, sent by the Governor of Havana to be exchanged for these men and others captured by the marauding privateers.

In 1752 Governor Melchor De Navarette of St. Augustine, Fla., sent to Governor Clinton a list of forty-five Spanish negroes and mulatto prisoners of war held as slaves in New York, and asked that they be set free. In answer to this, Judge Morris of the Court of Vice-Admiralty issued a summons to all who held these Spanish negroes in slavery to produce them in court on May 28, 1752, but only four appeared. The proceedings of the court were treated with contempt by the slave-dealers and the privateers

Between the year 1701 and 1726 it is estimated that 1573 slaves were brought into New York from the West Indies. By 1740 the city's population had increased to about 12,000, of which number 2000 were negro slaves. In May of this year a Spanish prize-ship was among the arrivals at the port, and of her crew five negroes, Antonio de St. Benedito, Pablo Ventura Angel, Antonio de la Cruz, Juan de la Sylva, and Augustine Gutierrez, although claiming to be free Spanish subjects, were sold into slavery by order of the Court of Admiralty.

A few months after this (April and March, 1741) the city went crazy over an alleged "popish plot" to burn the whole place and slaughter the people during a negro uprising. Before the mania subsided and the community was restored to its normal conditions, four white men were hanged, eleven negroes were burned at the stake and fifty transported. Included in this tragic sacrifice to an almost unaccountable public hysteria were the five Spanish negroes above mentioned. Although Peter De Lancey, Abraham Peltreau, and other prominent citizens testified to their good character, a jury found them guilty of participating in the alleged plot. Sylva was condemned to be hanged and the others to be transported to the West Indies. In the history of this "negro plot" compiled by Judge Daniel Hors-

manden, who presided at the trials of the alleged conspirators, he thus records the fate of this Catholic negro martyr:

"Juan de Sylva, the Spanish negro condemned for conspiracy, was this day (August 15) executed according to sentence; he was neatly dressed in a white shirt, jacket, drawers, and stockings, behaved decently, prayed in Spanish, kissed a crucifix, insisting on his innocence to the last."—*The New York Conspiracy; or a History of the Negro Plot*. New York, 1744.

In the preface of the second edition of this Horsmanden History it is stated of public sentiment at the time: "A holy hatred of the Roman Catholic was inculcated by Church and State."

Other testimony of the early presence of Catholic negroes in New York is to be had from the baptismal records of old St. Peter's, Barclay Street, the first Catholic church built in the city. Among the names registered on the opening pages of this list, these of Catholic negroes are to be found:

Thomas Benisson (slave of Joseph Benisson), born May 2, 1784; baptized January 14, 1788. Sponsors, Louis Abraham Walsh and Barbara Feinea.

Margaret Butler (slave) born April 15, 1779—the first convert recorded in St. Peter's list. Her sponsor was her mistress, Mrs. Margaret Cunningham.

John Cashel, born September 2, 1789. His sponsor was Andrew Morris, one of the founders of St. Peter's and for years among the most prominent Catholic merchants in the city.

Francis Caesar (slave), three years old, baptized October 27, 1793; sponsors, Francis Christopher Mantel, Count Talari, and Mary Desiderata Monguey, wife of German Peter Sumart de Grosser.

John (slave), born April 27, 1794. Sponsors, John Recho-lier and Joanna Miene Cheveault.

Mary Antonia (free), born July 6, 1794, of James and Rosalia Antonia. Sponsors, Ambrose and Mary Shavin.

John Louis (slave), born March 2, 1795, of Telemachus and Mary Nativity.

The social prominence of many of the sponsors tells how

carefully the Catholics of that time looked after the spiritual welfare of their households.

After the revolution of August, 1791, broke out in Haiti and San Domingo, a number of the planters who had estates in those islands fled to New York with their families, bringing also some of their slaves. The most notable of these was Pierre Toussaint, the son of a slave, born in 1766 in St. Mark's parish, San Domingo. He was the slave and confidential servant of a planter named John Berard. Mr. Berard, when his wife was settled in New York, left her there with Toussaint, while he returned to the West Indies to save what he could out of the wreck of his property. He died, however, on the voyage, and his widow found herself in her new home without any resources.

Toussaint immediately devoted himself to her maintenance. He was an expert ladies' hair dresser and soon became the fashionable artist of the town, earning a considerable amount, which he expended on his mistress, who on her death-bed, in 1810, emancipated him. In addition to providing for the wants of Mrs. Berard, he found time to do a great deal of charitable work, helping the poor with his savings and ministering to the sick. During a yellow fever epidemic his work was heroic. When he became free his prosperity increased and his thrift accumulated a modest competence, the income of which went to the poor, for churches, to orphan asylums, or whatever fostered the progress of religion. He lived to the age of eighty-seven, dying on June 30, 1853. It is stated that for sixty years he never failed to hear Mass every morning. A non-Catholic lady who attended his funeral at St. Peter's thus described it in a letter to a friend:

"I went to town on Saturday to attend Toussaint's funeral. High Mass, incense, candles, rich robes, sad and solemn music were there. The Church gave all it could give to prince or noble. The priest, his friend Mr. Quin, made a most interesting address. He did not allude to his color, and scarcely to his station; it seemed as if his virtues as a man and a Christian had absorbed all other thoughts. A stranger would not have suspected that a black man of his humble calling lay in the

midst of us. He said no relative was left to mourn for him, yet many present would feel that they had lost one who always had wise counsel for the rich, words of encouragement for the poor, and all would be grateful for having known him.

"The aid he had given to the late Bishop Fenwick of Boston, to Father Power of our city, to all the Catholic institutions, was dwelt upon at large. How much I have learned of his charitable deeds which I have never known before! Mr. Quin said: 'There were left few among the clergy superior to him in devotion and zeal for the Church and for the glory of God; among laymen none!'"

Toussaint's life was written by another Protestant lady, Mrs. H. F. Leo, "Memoir of Pierre Toussaint. Born a Slave in St. Domingo." Boston, Crosby & Nichols, 1854.) She called him God's image carved in ebony.



MOTHER SETON.

TWO LETTERS OF MOTHER SETON, FOUNDER OF THE SISTERS OF CHARITY IN THE UNITED STATES, COMMUNICATED BY A FRIEND.

"Dear Rose," so addressed in the following letters, was Miss Rose Anna Stubbs, who was born in Dublin of well-to-do parents at the very beginning of 1789.

The girl had gained the advantage of a convent education when domestic affairs underwent most important changes. Her father, reduced by business reverses to comparative poverty, set his face toward the young Republic across the seas. Mr. Stubbs, accordingly, was among the earliest of his race to appreciate the material opportunities offered under the Stars and Stripes. Accompanying the family, Rose reached New York in the first month of 1807, she then being eighteen years of age.

If at the beginning of the last century the future metropolis of the New World gave some very slight indication of its coming but really unexpected mighty commercial growth there was then, assuredly, no suggestion whatever of that still more amazing development by which New York has become a leading center of the Faith. Local Catholics and especially educated Catholics not being numerous, we can readily understand how it happened that the Catholic-spirited, convent-bred, young Irish stranger soon found herself a most welcome companion to the prominent, cultivated American lady, Mrs. Elizabeth Seton, then an ardent but socially ostracized convert of two years' standing.

Meanwhile the warm friendship so quickly formed was to bring only brief personal association to the good souls concerned. A year later Mrs. Seton went south for her work in Baltimore and especially in Emmitsburg, the two ladies becoming thereby separated for the rest of their lives. Rose in turn removed from New York City. Again she accompanied her parents, who settled in (Steuben County) what were then the western wilds of New York State.

In her rugged new home Miss Stubbs was married in 1812 to William Kernan and became the mother of a large family. Our good Dublinite spent her declining years in Utica, N. Y., where her children had previously established themselves and where her descendants are well known. Her eldest son, Francis Kernan, was one of the first Catholics to become a United States Senator. In that capacity he represented the Empire State in Washington from 1876 to 1882.

The subject of our little sketch died in the spring of 1862. The measure of her gifts, natural and supernatural, expressed by Mother Seton's affectionate esteem, was amply confirmed by common sentiment. Among relatives, friends, and acquaintances Mrs. Kernan was ever held to be a most lovable person of strong common sense and superior sanctity.

The subjoined letters—breathing in every line the ardent friendship just explained—are the earliest and the only ones preserved of a correspondence maintained between Mother Seton and Rose until the death of the former in 1821. These two communications are especially interesting as having been written from Baltimore and Emmitsburg at the very period when Mother Seton—having really become a religious mother—was leaving Baltimore to establish her little religious family, together with her own young children, in “a beautiful country place in the mountains.”

The “gentleman about to take the tonsure,” whose great generosity is mentioned, was Mr. Cooper, a Virginian convert, and at the time a seminarian in Baltimore. Seemingly it was his donation of ten thousand dollars—large indeed in those days!—that made Mother Seton's religious undertaking possible.

The date of our second letter while not penned is closely enough fixed by the context. The letter was written when Mother Seton had “just buried” her sister-in-law, Harriet Seton, “that most beautiful, accomplished girl, converted here last summer by the Blessed Virgin of the Mountain.” Harriet Seton died in the December of 1809. Accordingly this letter, announcing her death, belongs to the winter of 1809-10.

The persons named in the postscript deserve attention. Anna,

the leader of the children in sending "best love," was the first born of Mother Seton's family. She passed from this life March 12, 1812, pronouncing the three vows on her death-bed before the novice-mistress, who was a mother both by nature and by religious vocation.

The "eldest boy" was William Seton, whose "shroud made for him" in 1809 was supplied more than half a century too soon. Having entered the United States Navy, William died in 1868. He was the father of the Most Rev. Robert Seton, Archbishop of Heliopolis.

"Cecilia" (Seton), the remaining sister-in-law, was destined to enter into her eternal reward before the end of the near-by April, 1810. It was Cecilia's conversion, following Mother Seton's, that threw all New York City (1806) into convulsions of excitement against Catholicism in general and Mother Seton in particular. Even threats were made of having Cecilia's supposed evil genius driven from town by a special act of the Legislature. But, as often happens, the blessed divine purpose was brought about through the malicious doings of men. The bitter persecution to which the zealous convert was subjected forced her removal to that more congenial center, Baltimore, where she was to find ways and means for her great work—the establishment of the Sisters of Charity on American soil.

MY DEAR, DEAR ROSE: BALTIMORE, February 21, 1809.

Great was my joy and consolation on receiving a letter from our good friend Duplex, which once more gave me news of your dear family, whom I have never ceased to think of with regret and affection. Since our arrival in Baltimore I had one letter from you which I wished to answer immediately, but I was hindered by many circumstances, and soon after heard the current report that your dear father had found his settlement so very inconvenient that he had moved away from it. And though I wrote to New York for information and made every inquiry I could never hear if you were coming this way (as

your dear father hoped in case you made a change) or if you had gone to the more interior part of the country.

Oh my dear girl, wherever you are or in whatever state, a truer or more sincere friend you will never find than the unworthy one on whom you bestowed so much of your tenderness, and who now declares to you she will love you until death—and what is far more I hope forever, in that blessed home where neither distance nor time can separate us. But Duplex says you have been all sick; your dear parents, too, have felt the hard effects of our rude climate. May the Almighty God strengthen and comfort you all, and deliver you from every tribulation; and yet tribulation is the riches of His children, whom He generally treats with outward severity, by giving them a share in His cup. Since I left New York everything has been the contrary to me. It seems as if Our Lord binds me to Him by caresses and favors. Everything has turned out far beyond my brightest expectations so far, but your friend, my dearest Rose, has many trials to go through, as it has pleased Almighty God to appoint me a station full of cares and dangers; yet with Him and supported by His almighty arm there is nothing to fear which He will not carry us through.

A gentleman here who is about to take the tonsure has given a handsome property for the establishment of such females as may choose to lead a religious life devoted to the education of poor children in the Catholic Faith. I am already the Mother of some and have the prospect of receiving many daughters. We are going to begin our Novitiate in a beautiful country place in the mountains, and if ever by the providence of God you feel an inclination to join us, and your dear parents would think proper to consent, there will be a happy home ready for you, in which you may enter without expense or difficulty; but so great a happiness as that of receiving my dear Rose in my arms is more than I dare expect.

Oh that I could see you all once more! Your dear mother and Catherine at least I hope have escaped the miserable ague. The sweet season is now come which I trust in God will revive you all. No doubt your condition is still the same, my dearest

Rose; you declared you never would change it where you are.

When I go to Mass in the morning how often I think of you, and when tempted to stay at home by any excuse of bad weather or bad walking, that moment your dear mother comes in my mind, and I think of you all, who neither minded weather nor distance and off (MS is torn here) ashamed of my cold heart. Think, think, my dear Rose, every morning, every morning at 7 o'clock I receive our Adored Lord in that unworthy heart which never forgets you nor those generous hearts of your dear parents who were so kind to me. Duplex does not tell me any particulars about your family except that you have all had the ague. If they should but come this way how I should rejoice. One of our gentlemen of this seminary is appointed bishop of some diocese in the interior part of our country, so that indeed if your father resolves to stay I trust you will have some benefit of his appointment, as several clergymen are to be sent out. But how much happier I should be if you were to come if only near Baltimore, where indeed is true piety and such exemplary clergymen as are rarely to be found. Our little girls are very well; big and little all go to confession once a week. How are your darling brothers. Could I but see you all!

Oh my dear child, may the blessing of all blessings be yours, and the peace of the Divine Love rest in your soul. Give my tenderest love to your father, mother, Catherine, and all the family. Do write to me if possible.

I am your ever true and affectionate friend,

Miss R. Stubbs.

M. E. SETON.

MY MOST DEAR ROSE:

ST. JOSEPH'S, EMMITSBURG.

Your most welcome letter is safe in my hands, and I can not tell you the comfort it gives me to hear of you and your dear family. You tell me better news of them than I had heard from New York; but I am well persuaded that the only way to come to our heavenly Treasure is through the fire of tribulation; we can have no other will than His, Who goes before us

to lead us on. I have gone through more interior and external trials since I began a religious life than you can conceive, but have always found and still find they are very, very good for me, and so you must take them, dearest.

I have just buried my Sister Harriet, a most beautiful, accomplished girl, converted here last summer by the Blessed Virgin of the Mountain. She received her first Communion 24th Sept., feast of the B. V. of Mercy. She went ever since to the sacraments weekly, and lived up to our Rule with the fervor of devotion. Just as her friends found out her conversion, and a storm of distressing reproaches was falling on her, and the solicitations of my brother, to whom she had been engaged many years, she was taken ill and snatched away from it all. Blessed be Our Lord for ever. What is the world, my dear girl—what can be our hope in it. Heaven and eternity are the only things worth thinking of.

Now, my dear, to answer some observations in your letter. You say very true that a religious life can not be embraced without many considerations. Let me be the last person in the world to persuade you on the subject; but knowing your love of religion and your dear parents' great love for it, I only mentioned to you that there was such a home for you. There is here an excellent seminary for the education of young clergymen. Many are taken free of all expense, and brought up in the most edifying manner, and no doubt it would comfort your dear father to know this in case he was not able himself to succeed and provide for you all. As to the rest Almighty God will do what is right.

Our Community increases very fast, and no doubt will do a great deal of good in the care of the sick and instruction of children, which is our chief business. The Rule is so easy that it is scarcely more than any regular religious person would do even in the world. Like yourself, many of our Sisters do not know their Vocation, but they make no engagements till they have passed their twelve months Novitiate, and then if they persevere they make simple vows in the hands of our bishop, which he can dispense with at pleasure whenever he sees fit cause for

doing it. Oh what a comfort while the Church of God is reduced to such distress, and seems, as it were, abandoned to its enemies, He permits us to serve Him in peace in this happy corner, where He stays with us even under our very roof. We have an elegant little chapel, thirty cells holding a bed, chair, and table each, a large infirmary, a very spacious refectory, besides parlor, school-room, my room, working rooms, etc. Remember, it is your home and your dear sister's any day when your dear parents and Almighty God may think proper, and this I tell you only for your and their comfort, in case anything happened to them.

As I told you, the Church is in great distress; it is said that Pope Pius VII has gained the palm of martyrdom, and probably there is now no Pope, or if there is, it is a relation of Bonaparte's.

Our good and excellent Mr. Byrn died some time ago at Georgetown College. Ann Barry died at Madeira and her mother is daily expected here. This is all I know outside of our own roof; we are as much out of the world as if we were buried.

Do let me hear every particular of your dear family as soon as you can. I hear no more of good Duplex nor his wife; will write them this day. The peace of Our Lord be with you, my dear child, and the blessing of your Virgin Mother.

Always your friend i* X (MS torn)
most truly and sincere (MS torn)
M. E. A. St. X (MS torn)

Anna's and all the dear children's best love to you. Cecilia is with me. I told you, I believe, she has been at the point of death and is yet in bed; my eldest boy also has his shroud made. So our Adored Lord deals with those who love Him. I am very well and thrive through trouble; pray for me always, as I do for you all.

EVILS OF TRUSTEEISM

BY REV. GERALD C. TREACY, S.J.

I

On opening the very first pages of the history of any of the older parishes in this country, we find mention made of the Board of Trustees. They were a body of laymen (in later times one or two clergymen might be found to enjoy membership), elected by the congregation to administer Church property and to look after the temporalities of the parish. They formed a corporation with a legal existence, created and acknowledged by the laws of the several States. Their duties were manifold, their rights extensive. The upkeep of the property of the Church devolved upon them. They hired the sexton, the organist, and choir-master, and what strikes us as strange nowadays, even the pastor. The bishop would give his priests faculties and they would go before the Board of Trustees and arrange with this body all the details of parish duties as well as other important incidentals, namely, salary, lodging, variety of Church services, and ministrations. If the pastor proved distasteful to the congregation or unsatisfactory to their elected representatives, the Board of Trustees, the bishop was notified that the services of a new priest were in requisition. It may not be amiss to mention here parenthetically that in the Maryland mission all Church possessions were in the hands of the Society of Jesus, and when the Suppression came, the Fathers very wisely incorporated under the title of "The Gentlemen of Maryland," and handed down the property by will, till the Restoration, when, with the approval of Bishop Carroll, they came into their own again. Hence Jesuit parishes were free from the vexations and troubles of trusteeism, that afflicted the American Church in the first fifty years of our country's history.

The beginning of the system is traceable to two causes. The Catholics, a negligible minority in the different States, were in-

fluenced by the vestry system of the various Protestant sects, controlling Church affairs, administering Church property, appointing clergymen by the votes of a lay committee. Again, the civil law acknowledged the right of a congregation to hold property, insisting, however, that the trustees should be elected by all the members of the said congregation. So Bishop Carroll tolerated the system, and his successors and fellow-members of the episcopate did likewise. Again it must be remembered that the great majority of American Catholics came from Europe, where the Committee of Control, or Fabriques, administered Church property. But while the European governments of the day recognized the peculiar constitution of the Catholic Church, in America it was by no means certain how the different States would deal with the legal conflicts that might arise between the bishop and the lay trustees. That the system was dangerous and liable to grave abuses, is patent to the most casual observer of the Church's development in the United States. Scandals and schisms were the outgrowth of the system, that darkened the early days of the American Church, and forced its first bishop to go before the civil power, and prove his right to govern American Catholics, and to appoint the priests whom he chose to labor in the field. Fortunately in these early times, by a decision of the Pennsylvania Court of Common Pleas, the bishops' supreme control over clergy and laity alike was acknowledged by the State.

However, the trouble was not settled by this decision. Bishop Carroll suffered the humiliation of having his appointment of priests vetoed by the trustees of different churches, who insisted on keeping the pastors of their own choice, stubbornly maintaining that the right of appointing the clergy belonged to those who supplied the revenue. They took it upon themselves to raise or lower the priests' salary according to a standard of sacerdotal merit fixed by themselves. And the lamentable fact is that there were those among the clergy who, to escape the burden of episcopal jurisdiction, readily fell in with the wild notions of the lay trustees, and left their names as scandal marks on the history of the early American Church.

A case in point is that of Father Nepomocene Goetz, who applied to Father Leonard Neale, vicar-general of Philadelphia, for admission into the diocese of Baltimore, of which Philadelphia was then a flourishing division. He was appointed as a curate to Rev. Peter Heilbron of Holy Trinity Church, Philadelphia. Though solemnly promising his ecclesiastical superiors that he would diligently acquit himself of the sacerdotal duties committed to him, on learning that he was to be curate and not pastor, he protested to the trustees, declaring "that he did not wish to be an assistant but co-pastor with equal rights." Certain disaffected members of the parish sided with the rebellious priest. This was in 1796. Toward the end of September of that year, the trustees of the parish passed twenty-six resolutions, formulating a platform that embraced their "power, rights, and authority," and sustaining the unworthy priest in the strange attitude he had assumed. The question now involved the sacred constitution of Holy Church, touching the authority of the episcopate. Father Heilbron could not agree to the appointment of a co-pastor, as no one but the bishop could make such an appointment. The trustees, however, thought otherwise, and in October, 1796, sent the following communication to the pastor: "We hereby inform you that in consequence of your refusal to sign the twenty-six resolutions, you are hereby dismissed and deprived of your office in this church. Furthermore, your salary is withdrawn. In case you refuse to give up the property of the Church, we will prosecute you with the law."

To avoid public scandal, Father Heilbron retired to St. Joseph's Church, and there held service for the faithful members of his congregation. In November the trustees appointed Father Goetz as pastor. Bishop Carroll threatened the usurping priest with suspension. The threat was of no avail, and in the same month the usurper held divine service, and preached to his rebel congregation on "The Sanctity of Christian Temples." His faculties were immediately withdrawn.

During this scandal Father Leonard Neale, vicar-general and coadjutor of the diocese, tried to bring about peace. But the

trustees would brook no interference, and sad to say they were encouraged in their unrighteous cause by another priest, Father William Elling, of Reading, Pa. He supplied the refractory congregation with ritual, missal, holy oils, etc., and finally offered his services to the schismatics. Bishop Carroll with fatherly tenderness addressed a pastoral to the "Beloved Brethren of Holy Trinity Church," urging all to return to unity, and stating clearly the doctrine and discipline of the Church, and the duties of the faithful in obeying lawful authority. Nevertheless, his appeal fell upon deaf ears. Extreme measures were then resorted to, and through the vicar-general, Father Neale, Bishop Carroll excommunicated the recalcitrant priests in February, 1797. In the hope of ending the schism Bishop Carroll journeyed to Philadelphia at the end of the year. On his arrival he was served with a writ and hailed before a civil magistrate. In open court the trustees based their case on the contention that the only power possessed by a bishop was the laying of hands on the person whom the people desired as their minister. When the Pope's brief was produced in evidence, clearly stating that all the faithful in the United States were subject to the Bishop of Baltimore, the trustees were not daunted. They attacked the brief as a violation of American law. Nor did *they cease here* in their open breach with Bishop Carroll. They even dared to delegate Father Reuter, the head of a schismatical congregation of Baltimore, as their special emissary to the Holy See to obtain Papal sanction for their rebellious conduct. So the eighteenth century closed with the plague of schism afflicting our infant Church. It was not until 1802 that priest and people were brought to a realization of their duties as Catholics and peace once more prevailed where peace should ever be.

In 1808 Philadelphia became a separate diocese, and Right Rev. Michael Egan was named its first bishop. Trustee troubles began again, and the two priests who figured conspicuously in the fray were Father James Harold and his nephew, Father William Harold. The former was made pastor of St. Mary's, the latter, vicar-general. These appointments were the

signal for trouble, and financial embarrassment strained the situation to the breaking point. The Harolds, it was said, made exorbitant demands for money. In February, 1813, a dramatic climax was reached, when from the pulpit of St. Mary's, Father James Harold announced that both he and Father William would no longer serve that church. Bishop Egan accepted their resignation, much to their surprise, and they forthwith appealed to Bishop Carroll for reinstatement in the diocese; and the answer of the metropolitan was "Exeant!" Then the battle was on. Factions followed, known as the Haroldites and Bishopites. At the next election of trustees the Haroldites swept the field, employing tactics that foreshadowed the days of the steam roller. Feeling ran high, and pamphlets appeared attacking the bishop in language that smacked of the style of modern campaign oratory, and the last public utterance of the first bishop of Philadelphia was a protest against those who were a scandal to the Church he loved. A few days later he was dead, "the first victim of episcopal rights, for his end was premature," are the words we find closing the letter that announced his death to Archbishop Carroll.

Under the next bishop, Dr. Conwell, trusteeism came into prominence again, and a brilliant priest, Rev. William Hogan, played the disgraceful rôle of the leader of an unruly party, standing for the false contention that in the United States laymen have the right to appoint bishops and priests, and legislate in ecclesiastical questions as well as temporalities. Probably the greatest of all the trustee scandals that besmirch the records of our early Church, it emphasizes the old truth, old as the Church is old, that might of intellect in a priest who is not well seasoned in the ground principles of true virtue is more of a curse than a blessing. Father William Hogan was endowed with rare intellectual gifts and possessed a manner that won its way quickly into all hearts. In the civic as well as religious life of the Quaker city he was a prominent figure. Then the day came when his bishop called him to task for some indiscretion, and wounded pride conquered. He got the ears of the self-important trustees, and together they plotted a cam-

paing of disunion that was startling in its boldness. Their first move was to have the charter of St. Mary's amended, so as to exclude the clergy from membership in the Board of Trustees. The case was carried before the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, where an adverse decision defeated their scheme. Now the trustee election of 1822 was approaching. Fourteen pews were added to the body of the Church, and twelve placed in the galleries. As each pew seated five persons, and each person was entitled to a vote at the coming election, by renting the pews to sympathizers of Father Hogan and the trustees, one hundred and thirty votes were secured. On the morning of the election, April 9, 1822, an excited crowd thronged Fourth Street, Philadelphia. Both parties in the congregation had been inflamed by a series of pamphlets that had been scattered broadcast for months before. The bishop's party held the churchyard long before the opening of the polls. The trustee party fought madly to obtain possession of the church. A riot followed, the iron railing was pulled down, and bricks were used as weapons—*furor arma ministrat*. The wounded numbered some two hundred parishioners. Peace was finally restored by the arrival of the mayor, the sheriff, and the city police. When the polls closed both sides claimed the victory. A referee was agreed upon to receive the signatures of all the pewholders, the majority of such signatures to determine who were to be the trustees for the following year. The decision was favorable to the trustees. Then the members of the congregation still loyal to the bishop appealed to the religious sense of the victors. The result of the appeal is evident from the yearly report of Bishop Conwell on the state of the diocese—"The non-Catholics still retain possession of St. Mary's by violence." In August of that year Pius VII addressed a brief to Archbishop Maréchal and his suffragans and to all the faithful of the United States confirming the sentence of excommunication pronounced against Father Hogan. "Trustees should bear in mind," continues the brief, "that the properties secured for divine worship, for the support of the Church, and the maintenance of its ministers fall under the power of the Church, and since the bishops, by

divine appointment, preside over their respective churches, they can not by any means be excluded from the care, superintendence, and administration of these properties. But that trustees and laymen should arrogate to themselves the right of naming for pastors priests destitute of faculties, and even bound by censure, is a practice new and unheard of in the Church."

The above instances, to some extent at least, illustrate the awful ravages wrought by the plague of trusteeism in one section of the American Church. It must be remembered that the trustee trouble was not peculiar to this diocese. Philadelphia furnishes us with typical cases of a disease that was general. It afflicted every section of America in a greater or less degree. We find the same strife breaking out in New York, in Baltimore, in Charleston, and in New Orleans. And everywhere the story is the same—the strange notion of the pre-eminence of lay control seizing hold upon a certain congregation, one or two disaffected priests giving their secret support or their open leadership—then schism and scandal inevitably following.

It is to the first Archbishop of New York that the honor is due of gaining the strangle-hold on the trustee adversary, and crushing with relentless force the foe that had continually disturbed the peace of the American Church from the days of Bishop Carroll. Right Rev. John Hughes had come from Philadelphia, where the trustee troubles we have been considering happened before his eyes. On assuming control of the New York diocese, he was face to face with a new aspect of trusteeism. All the Catholic churches in the city of New York were heavily in debt. The number of churches was eight—five were bankrupt and carried on their portals a bill of sale. The young bishop acted quickly. He went around the city, raised enough money to purchase the property of the five bankrupt churches, and secured all the titles in his own name. Then he consolidated all the church debts of the diocese, and as the legal owner of church properties, he removed every layman from the trustee boards. Needless to say, a storm of opposition greeted his vigorous course of action. In the city itself little could be done, as the law acknowledged as proprietor the holder of the title to the

property. But far up the State, in Buffalo, the trustees of St. Louis' Church, a body of men that had fought episcopal authority relentlessly realized that the strong churchman who was guiding the destinies of the largest city of the State had to be brought under the power of the law. Their plan was a clever one and boded ill to episcopal authority. They petitioned the Legislature to pass the following bill: "Any deed, lease, or devise of any Catholic bishop shall be made null and void on the death of the said bishop, and the property shall be vested in any incorporated congregation happening to use the same, and if the congregation be not incorporated, the property shall revert to the State." The trustees were not children in politics, and despite a good deal of opposition the bill became a law. The fighting archbishop, nothing daunted, took up his pen and in the public press of the day exposed the manifest injustice of the law that was a disgrace to the statute books of the Empire State. Senator Brooks attempted to defend it, but Archbishop Hughes worsted him so completely in the long controversy that followed, that the law remained a dead letter as long as it existed. And that was for a number of years, in fact till the days of the Civil War, when Catholic soldiers were needed in the field, and the New York Legislature thought it well to repeal an act that would have been in keeping with the legislation of the worst days of the French Revolution.

Propaganda had made it clear to the American Church that trustees were to administer church property under the guidance of the bishop and not in opposition to his will. Pius VII had vindicated episcopal rights in his brief to Archbishop Maréchal, showing the attitude of the few malcontents under the leadership of Father Hogan to be inconsistent with the very elements of Canon Law on the question of church property and episcopal jurisdiction. But Rome was far away and her voice would be nought but an empty echo, unless in the bishop's palace was found a man of action. Such a man was Archbishop Hughes. He knew not only his Canon Law, but the law of the State as well. And when the State encroached upon the rights of the Church, he went before the bar of public opinion, and, despite

prejudice and bigotry, forced the guardians of justice either to repeal the unjust law or made them shrink from enforcing it. By securing control of the title to all church property in his then bankrupt diocese, he gave a practical key for the solution of the trustee difficulty to his brethren in the American Episcopate. Where his example was followed all went well, where it passed by unheeded trouble was not slow in brewing. And when the pastoral of Archbishop Hughes was published to the New York diocese in 1842, the last word on trusteeism was spoken. "We have directed and ordained by the statutes of the diocese," reads the pastoral, "that henceforward no body of lay trustees shall be permitted to appoint, retain, or dismiss any person connected with the Church against the will of the pastor, subject to the ultimate decision of the Ordinary. We have ordained likewise that the expenses necessary for the maintenance of the pastor, and the support of the Church and religion shall in no case be withheld or denied if the congregation are able to afford them. It shall not be lawful for any board of trustees to make use of the church, chapel, basement, or other portions of the ground or edifice consecrated to religion for any meeting without the consent of the pastor, who shall be accountable to the bishop for his decision. One of the first and most explicit decrees of the Provincial Council in Baltimore directed and enjoined on the bishops of this province that they should not consecrate any church therein unless the deed had been previously made in trust to the bishop. This rule has hitherto been followed strictly by the great majority of the episcopal body, and wherever it has been followed the faithful have been exempted from the many evils to which we have already referred."

Of these evils and the havoc they wrought in our American Church we have had some little glimpse. How they might have multiplied and impeded the marvelous growth of Catholicity in this country, had not trusteeism received its death-blow from the hands of New York's first archbishop, we can only imagine.

II

It would be wrong to imagine that trustee troubles were confined to any particular section of the country or that only a single bishop was called upon to solve the problems they presented. The fact is that they were limited by the boundaries of no diocese; their blighting influence was felt in all.

Early in the nineteenth century the German Catholics of Baltimore were anxious to have a pastor of their own nationality, and their choice fell on Father Reuter. After a year he returned to Germany, as the congregation was unable to support him, and on his way to the Fatherland he stopped at Rome, where he accused Bishop Carroll of forbidding German Catholics instruction in their native tongue and of excommunicating those who preached in German. Now the fact was the bishop had refused a separate church to the Germans of the city, as there were only thirty who did not speak English, and the younger generation were all more familiar with English than with German. In a short time Father Reuter returned to the States, and was in Baltimore, pretending to have powers from Rome to erect a church which was to be independent of the bishop. He even sent a petition to the Pope for the erection of a German diocese in the United States. Although Bishop Carroll refused him faculties, he was elected by the trustees of St. John's Church, which had just been built, as their pastor. The bishop summoned Father Reuter to appear before him and make amends for his disobedience. This was in January, 1804.

Father Brosius, a learned and saintly German priest, was appointed pastor, and the bishop secured a writ of mandamus to force his acceptance on the trustees. In reply to the writ, Father Reuter and the trustees claimed that by the fundamental laws, usages, and canons of the German Catholic Church the members of the church "had the sole and exclusive right of nominating and appointing their pastor, and that no other person, whether bishop or Pope, has the right to appoint a pastor without the assent and approbation of the congregation or a majority of the same." They also pleaded that they had put the Church under the control of "Minorites Conventuals of the

Order of St. Francis," and that "Father Reuter and the church owed obedience to the civil magistrate and to that Order, and to no other ecclesiastical person or body whatever." As they could furnish no proof of their contention, the general court handed down an adverse decision to their plea, in May, 1805.

Though very early in the history of the Church in America, this was not the first instance of the civil courts upholding the authority of a Catholic bishop. Probably one of the first decisions rendered was in the case of Bishop Carroll against Father Fromm, who had taken possession of a church in Westmoreland County, Pa., without any permission from his bishop. The Court of Common Pleas of the 5th district (Circuit), Pennsylvania, declared in 1798 "The bishop of Baltimore has, and before and at the time of Fromm's taking possession of this estate, had the sole episcopal authority over the Catholic Church of the United States. Every Catholic congregation within the United States is subject to his inspection; and without authority from him no Catholic priest can exercise any pastoral function over any congregation in the United States. Without his appointment or permission to exercise pastoral function over this congregation, no priest can be entitled, under the will of Brower, to claim the enjoyment of this estate. Fromm had no such appointment or permission, and is therefore incompetent to discharge the duties or enjoy the benefits which are the objects of the will of Brower." Father Brower, the first pastor, had by will left the property to his successor. The verdict of the jury was against Father Fromm.

In 1803 Louisiana became United States territory. Father Walsh was vicar-general and administrator of the diocese. In 1805 Father Antonio Sedella was removed from his parish on account of his scandalous conduct. This foolish priest then called a meeting of the committee of wardens, who elected him their pastor. At this point Father Walsh interdicted the church. When Father Walsh died in 1808, Bishop Carroll assumed charge of the diocese, and Cantillion, the head of the wardens, tried to get the Government of France to use its influence in having Sedella appointed Bishop of New Orleans.

Rev. John Olivier was appointed by Bishop Carroll vicar-general, and Sedella openly refused to recognize him as his superior.

BISHOP CARROLL'S SUCCESSOR AND THE TRUSTEES.

Norfolk.

On the archbishop's death, in 1815, his successor, Most Rev. Leonard Neale, appointed as pastor of Norfolk Rev. James Lucas. The trustees of the church did not approve of the appointment, maintaining the right of patronage and the power of naming their own pastor. The archbishop's words on the occasion are worth recording. "The pretended right of choosing their priest or missionary pastor is perfectly unfounded, for they are not patrons of the Church according to the language of the Council of Trent, who alone have the right of choosing their pastor. In the diocese of Baltimore none but the archbishop can place or remove a priest; and that he can do at will, as there are no parishes established here, no benefices conferred, and no collations made, and no powers granted but what are merely missionary, revocable at will. Hence the trustees can claim no jurisdiction over their priest nor prevent his missionary functions."

A party was formed among the parishioners strong enough to exclude Father Lucas from the church, and he was obliged to rent a private house, where he held divine service for the faithful members of the congregation. Archbishop Neale immediately placed the church under an interdict; apparently without effect, as the trustee party remained obdurate. They vindicated their conduct in the press, claiming a *jus patronatus* and attacking the ignorance and superstition of the Roman Curia, at the same time denouncing Catholic doctrines, confession in particular. They sent a memorial to the Pope, stating that they were without a priest, and claiming that the distance between Maryland and Virginia was so great that Norfolk needed a bishop of its own. They named Rev. Father Carbry, O.P., as a suitable choice. Bishop Connolly was deceived by the party at Norfolk, and so gave his support to

their cause. Carbry set out for Rome and Propaganda notified Archbishop Maréchal. On Carbry's return, bearing a letter from Cardinal Litta commending him to the Ordinary of Baltimore, he was not received by that prelate. Then the archbishop went to Norfolk in person, in the hope of settling the trouble. His journey proved fruitless. The malcontents applied to Father Hayes, asking him to go to Utrecht, prevail upon the schismatical archbishop of that place to consecrate him and then return as Bishop of Norfolk. Father Hayes reported the whole matter to Rome. Meanwhile, the archbishop, to win over the disaffected trustees, made Father Kerney pastor of Norfolk. The trustees would not receive him and clung to Carbry, who soon appeared on the scene. The church and cemetery were in the possession of the trustees, and Father Carbry displayed the letter of Cardinal Litta as a Papal Act freeing him from the jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Baltimore. He obtained a license in court to officiate as pastor of Norfolk and Portsmouth, and said Mass for the trustees and their following.

Charleston.

In Charleston the trustees had refused to receive the priest sent to them, Rev. J. P. Clorivière. They defied the command of their archbishop and sent a petition to Rome, asking, in the name of the Catholics of four States, for the erection of a diocese embracing the territory of Georgia, North and South Carolina, and Virginia. They suggested the name of Father Carbry. As Father Clorivière was unable to gain possession of the church property which was held by the trustees, he rented a hall, where he held divine service for the faithful members of the congregation. The archbishop sent two Jesuits to the scene of trouble, Father Benedict Fenwick and Father James Wallace. Father Fenwick, on his arrival, called a meeting of the trustees, and at this meeting O'Driscoll, one of the leading spirits of the opposition, spoke in defense of the right of presentation. Father Fenwick denied it absolutely, insisting that the pastor of the church must be recognized as a member of the

Board of Trustees, that he was entitled to compensation for his services as long as he held the position of pastor from the Archbishop of Baltimore. Father Gallagher, one of the leaders of the disaffected party, was informed by Father Fenwick that his powers were null and void. A flag of truce was soon struck by the trustees and the unfortunate priests identified with them, and Fathers Fenwick and Wallace set to work reviving the religious spirit of the people.

Norfolk and Charleston at this time showed the strange turn affairs had taken. A small group of unworthy Catholics by some unknown means gained the influence of the Irish Hierarchy, and through a certain Rev. Robert Browne urged Propaganda to a course of action that was by no means calculated to benefit the Church in the United States. To please these malcontents, a scheme was formed to make Virginia a diocese, with Richmond as the see, but giving the new bishop the privilege of residing at Norfolk. Everything was done with great secrecy, and the Bulls were sent to Ireland to the candidates appointed, ordering them to obtain consecration and start at once for America. The Pope in 1820 dismembered the diocese of Baltimore, made Virginia a separate diocese, with Richmond as its see, and named Charleston as the see of another diocese, embracing the States of Georgia and the Carolinas. Rev. John England was made Bishop of Charleston and Rev. Patrick Kelly Bishop of Richmond. It was the severing of the diocese of Baltimore into two far-distant sections, Maryland and the District of Columbia forming the upper northern part, while Alabama and Mississippi made the southern boundary. Archbishop Maréchal entered his protest against this division of his diocese to the newly appointed Bishop of Richmond, "although it would be entirely lawful for us to oppose the erection of the said see, whether we consider the wicked means by which it was obtained or the scandals and calamities of every kind, which will undoubtedly be the result; yet fearing that the said enemies of the Church of Christ will take occasion even from our most justly founded opposition to inflict the most serious injury on the Catholic religion, Your Lordship may, as you judge best,

proceed or not to take possession of the diocese of Virginia, according to the tenor of the Bulls transmitted to you. But to assure the tranquillity of our conscience, we hereby distinctly declare to Your Lordship that we in no wise give or yield our assent positively to this most unfortunate action of the Congregation de Propaganda Fide. If you carry it out, we are to be held free before God and the Church now and hereafter from all the evils and scandals which the Catholic religion suffers or may suffer from it in these United States." He wrote to the Cardinal Prefect, "Therefore, Most Eminent Cardinal, two vagabond friars, Browne and Carbry, concocting their schemes with other Irish friars living in Rome, have prevailed; and the Sacred Congregation, deceived by the absurd calumnies of such men, has made itself the instrument to carry out their impious schemes."

Bishop Kelly on taking charge of the diocese immediately gave faculties to Carbry and refused them to Father Lucas, who had labored so faithfully for the good of the Church. It was not long, however, before his eyes were opened. Carbry fomented rebellion again, and with the malcontents behind him, closed the door of the church on the bishop. Again the people took sides. There were followers of the bishop and trustee sympathizers, each striving to secure the church property. At this point the law stepped in and twenty-one were arrested. It did not take long to make it evident that Virginia could not support a bishop. In July, 1822, Bishop Kelly was transferred to the united sees of Waterford and Lismore, and Archbishop Maréchal was made administrator of the diocese of Richmond.

Bishop England was not slow to recognize the harm wrought by the trustee system in different sections of the country. In an endeavor to bring to the knowledge of the laity the proper idea of church discipline he published his "Constitutions of the Roman Catholic Churches of the Diocese of Charleston." It began with a statement of doctrine, formulated in the creed of Pius IV. It set down the right of bishops to form parishes and appoint pastors, and without his consent the congregation could neither sell property nor build. All diocesan property

was placed in the hands of the general trustees, which consisted of the bishop, the vicar-general, five priests, and twelve laymen. Members lost their rights by rejecting any doctrine of the Church, by opposing its discipline, by lending support to any priest not approved by the Ordinary, by falling under censure and by not paying the required dues. By the end of the year 1824 the different churches of the diocese were incorporated by the Legislature of the State.

New Orleans.

In 1828, when New Orleans was under the Bishop of St. Louis, the trustees of the cathedral of that city (New Orleans) tried to have a law passed giving them power to appoint and remove priests. Now, the ground on which the cathedral was built had been given to the Church by the King of Spain and the building erected by a Spanish gentleman, so the trustees had not the vestige of a civil claim. They did not succeed in this, and when the word reached Rome Leo XII sent over his brief *Quo Longius*. "What shall we say," said the Holy Father, "of the trustees of the Church of New Orleans who endeavor to renew the misconduct of Philadelphia and oppose our apostolic decision, of which they are surely not ignorant? Did Christ give His Church to trustees or to bishops to be ruled by them? Shall sheep lead the shepherd and not the shepherd the sheep?" About a year after this Father Sedella, who had been prominent in trustee troubles, died in New Orleans, apparently reconciled to the Church. The freemasons of the city, by an order of the Grand Lodge of Louisiana, attended his funeral in a body.

It was in 1842, when Bishop Blanc was in charge of New Orleans, that the trustees of the cathedral refused to accept the priest sent to them. They claimed the right of patronage formerly enjoyed by the King of Spain, and even carried their claim into court. The inferior court denied the claim, but nothing daunted they carried the case to the Supreme Court of the State, where the lower court's decision was sustained. Judge Maurian's decision read as follows: "The *jus patronatus* of

the Spanish law is abrogated in this State. The wardens can not compel the bishop to institute a curate of their appointment, nor is he in any sense subordinate to the wardens of any of the churches within his diocese." Nevertheless, the trustees continued their opposition, and the clergy retired from the cathedral. An ordinance was passed by trustee influence which compelled all priests to conduct funeral services at a mortuary chapel under trustee control. Father Permoli was prosecuted under this statute in 1842. Judge Preval, who heard the case, declared the ordinance illegal, and an appeal was carried to the United States Supreme Court.

As the courts had defeated the schemes of the cathedral trustees they determined to annoy the bishop at all hazards. The president of the board was Grand Master of the Foyer Lodge of Freemasons of the city. He empowered the lodge to build a monument in the Catholic cemetery, and against the wish of the bishop he officiated at the dedication ceremony. Then the trustees applied to the Legislature for confirmation in their pretended rights, and succeeded in having a bill passed in their favor by the Upper House of the legislative Assembly. It was defeated, however, in the Lower House and in the courts. So while the bishop was patiently waiting for the election of true Catholics to the Board of Trustees, the old trustees were wasting the Church's money in spiteful litigation. As only one Mass was said in the cathedral on Sunday, to make the Catholics of the city independent of the usurping trustees, the bishop had built other little churches, and they were placed under episcopal control. In April, 1844, the second diocesan synod was held, and its decrees forbade the clergy admitting the trustees' claims, and thereafter no church was to be built unless the deed was made out in the bishop's name. In churches still held by trustees the pastor was to see that the books were kept and the property was not wasted. Before the end of the year the trustees surrendered unconditionally, and the bishop went in procession to take over the cathedral. A *Te Deum* was sung at the High Mass and Father Maenhaut was placed in charge.

In the neighboring diocese of Mobile, trusteeism showed

itself in 1830. Father Mayne had been appointed to St. Augustine, Fla. The trustees expelled him from the church, and when the case came up in court a decision was handed down in their favor. The gist of the court's opinion was that the right formerly enjoyed by the King of Spain was transferred to the United States Government, and thence to the congregation of St. Augustine. The absurdity of the decision was apparent to all. If the United States Government inherited any of the privileges of the King of Spain it inherited all. But our Government never pretended such a claim. It did not nominate the bishop in Florida nor did it tax the people for the support of the clergy. The judge did not realize that the case before him was one neither of collation nor presentation, but a question of right in a body of laymen to expel a priest from an office given him by his lawful superior. In the following year Bishop Portier went to St. Augustine to bring about peace, but unpleasant relations prevailed for some time.

BISHOP DUBOIS AND THE TRUSTEES OF THE CATHEDRAL.

New York.

The year 1834 saw a manifestation of the so-called rights of trustees in the diocese of New York. Rev. Thomas Levins, who was attached to the cathedral for some years, had not been on cordial terms with Bishop Dubois. Father Levins, for replying to an order of the bishop's in a disrespectful manner, was suspended. The cathedral trustees sided with the priest and named him as rector of the parochial school, while they sent a committee to Bishop Dubois declaring they would deprive him of his salary. He quietly replied, "Gentlemen, I have seen the horrors of the French Revolution, and I could meet them again. I am an old man. I can live in a cellar or a garret; but, gentlemen, whether I come up from my cellar or down from my garret, you must remember that I am still your bishop."

While Bishop Hughes was managing the affairs of the diocese as coadjutor to Bishop Dubois, a civil officer, at the request of the trustees, entered the cathedral and expelled a Sunday-school

teacher who had been appointed by the bishop. No word of apology or explanation came to Bishop Dubois or his coadjutor. A pastoral was issued to the congregation in the name of Bishop Dubois, drawn up by Bishop Hughes. "It is possible that the civil law gives them power," says the pastoral, "to send the constable to the Sunday-school and eject even the bishop himself. But if it does, it gives them, we have no doubt, the same right to send him into the sanctuary and remove any of these gentlemen from before the altar. And is it your intention that such powers may be exercised by your trustees? If so, then it is about time for the ministers of the Lord to forsake your temple, and erect an altar to their God, around which religion shall be free, the Council of Trent fully recognized, and the laws of the Church applied to the government and regulation of the Church." From the pulpit Bishop Hughes urged the people not to put a penny on the plate unless their offerings were applied as they wished them applied. After the sermon the trustees tried to take up the usual collection, but the plates came back empty. A meeting of the pewholders was called by the bishop that very afternoon. At this meeting the bishop urged his people not to yield to the trustees, who were using a power that did not belong to them. The congregation supported the bishop's views, and the clergy of the diocese were unanimous in subscribing to them as he set them forth in a pastoral. Before the next election of trustees, the bishop gave a course of lectures on the trustee system as it existed in the different States. He proved that it was merely tolerated in the beginning by Bishop Carroll, and he showed how it had only fettered the Church it was designed to serve. The result of the next trustee election was that the three members elected were in accord with the bishop and the people, while the surviving member of the old board resigned. In 1842, when Bishop Hughes had succeeded to the government of the diocese, the first synod was held in the cathedral. In the decrees of that body we can see that Bishop Hughes was determined to keep the trustees from exercising powers that did not belong to them. They were forbidden to spend money contributed by the people without the permission

of the pastor, and there was to be no outlay exceeding \$100 unless the bishop gave special permission. Under pain of suspension priests were to report violations of this rule. Titles of the churches were to be in the name of the bishop, and he was to receive a financial statement of every church at his visitation. All persons engaged in church services were to be appointed by the pastor. No meetings were to be held without his leave. The auctioning of pews was discountenanced. At the close of the synod the bishop issued his pastoral. Regarding church property he said, "One of the most perplexing questions connected with the well-being of religion is the tenure and administration of church property. A system, growing perhaps out of the circumstances of the times, has prevailed in this country, which is without a parallel in any other nation or in the whole history of the Catholic Church. That system is the leaving ecclesiastical property under the management of laymen, who are commonly designated trustees. We do not disguise that our conviction of this system is that it is altogether injurious to religion, and not less injurious to the piety and religious character of those who from time to time are called upon to execute its offices." The clergy were urged to preserve the property of the Church with great care, as it was the property of God. As the trustee boards changed each year, it was important to secure a yearly financial statement, so as to place financial responsibility where it belonged. To accomplish this the pastor was to be given the right to inspect the accounts of the church at his pleasure. The pastoral added, "Should it happen that any board of trustees, or other lay persons managing the temporal affairs of any church, should refuse to let the pastor see the treasurer's books and the minutes of the official proceedings, immediate notice of such refusal should be given us. We shall then adopt such measures as the circumstances of each case may require; but in no case shall we tolerate the presence of a clergyman in any church or congregation in which such refusal shall be persevered in."

On receiving the pastoral the trustees of St. Louis' Church in Buffalo wrote to Archbishop Hughes that they could not

conform to the pastoral. The bishop's reply was, "Should you determine that your church shall not be governed by the general law of the diocese, then we shall claim the privilege of retiring from its walls in peace, and leave you also in peace to govern it as you will. Indeed, we must keep our peace at all events, and charity also." The pastor was directed to enforce the regulations, and if the trustees objected, he was to withdraw from the church. The pastor resigned, and the trustees asked for a new pastor.

"You shall not govern your bishop, but your bishop shall govern you in all ecclesiastical matters," said Bishop Hughes. "When you are willing to walk in the way of your holy Faith, as your forefathers did, and be numbered among the Catholic flock of the diocese, precisely as all other trustees and congregations are, then I shall send you a priest if I have one." Two priests were sent to Buffalo to found other churches, and the trustees of St. Louis' Church appealed to Rome, only to be condemned. In 1844 the rebellious lay-trustees admitted their false position, and then only did the bishop allow services to be held in their church.

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Sie werden kommen von Auf- und Niedergang
von Mittag und Mitternacht Luc. XIII. 29

TITLE PAGE OF "DER NEUE WELT-BOTT."

DER NEUE WELT-BOTT:

INTRODUCTION BY CHARLES G. HERBERMANN, PH.D.

Allerhand so Lehr-als Geist-reiche Brief, Schriften, und Reis-Beschreibungen welche meistens von denen Missionariis Societatis Jesu aus Bayden Indien und andern über Meer gelegenen Ländern, Seit Anno 1642 bis auf 1726 in Europa angelangt seynd, jetzt zum ersten mal, Theils aus Handschriftlichen Urkunden theils aus andern bewährten Nachrichten zusammen getragen von Josepho Stöcklein, gedachter Gesellschaft Jesu Priestern.

Cum Privilegio Caesareio et Societatis Jesu Approbatione.

Augsburg and Gratz, 1726-175-

THE NEW WORLD MESSENGER

Various instructive and interesting letters, documents, and pictures of travel, sent by the missionaries of the Society of Jesus to Europe from the two Indies and other trans-oceanic countries, from the year 1642 to 1726; collected for the first time from manuscripts and other reliable sources, by Joseph Stöcklein, S.J.

With imperial authorization and the approbation of the Society of Jesus.

Augsburg and Gratz, 1726-175-

“The work of Dr. Nares has filled us with astonishment similar to that which Captain Lemuel Gulliver felt when he first landed in Brobdingnag and saw corn as high as the oaks in the New Forest, thimbles as large as buckets, and wrens of the bulk of turkeys. The whole book and every component part of it is on a gigantic scale. The title is as long as an ordinary preface; the prefatory matter would furnish out an ordinary book; and the book contains as much reading matter as an ordinary library. We can not sum up the merits of the stupendous mass of paper which lies before us better than by saying that it consists of about two thousand closely printed quarto

pages, that it occupies fifteen hundred inches cubic measure and that it weighs sixty pounds avoirdupois."

Of these lines of Lord Macaulay I was greatly reminded on last Christmas day, when Santa Claus surprised me with three ponderous volumes of the *Neue Welt-Bott*. I had hunted for the *Neue Welt-Bott* for some years. But notwithstanding its bulk, the New World Messenger had succeeded in hiding from me. Not even the great Public Library in New York has a copy. To tell the truth, the three volumes which Father Woods of Woodstock College loaned me are only a part of the said *Neue Welt-Bott*. For Father Huonder, in his *Deutsche Jesuitenmissionäre des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts*, instead of twenty-four parts cites thirty-six, and he is confirmed by De Backer in his *Bibliothèque des Écrivains de la Compagnie de Jésus*. It is true that each of the three volumes which Santa Claus brought me contains as much reading matter as six volumes of the "Historical Records and Studies." But this ought not surprise us, for Mr. Reuben Thwaites' edition of the "Jesuit Relations," a work similar to the *Neue Welt-Bott*, in the edition of Messrs. Burrows of Cleveland, has reached the seventy-second volume. The American work contains more matter than the original "French Jesuit Relations." But all of its volumes are reports of the Jesuit missions in Canada, just as the *Neue Welt-Bott* is a collection of letters from the Jesuit missionaries of Asia and of America outside of Canada.

The reader will naturally inquire into the nature of these ponderous volumes. We will find that in some respects they resemble a periodical more than a book. The three volumes of our *Welt-Bott* were published in 1726, 1729, 1732. Each volume consists of eight parts, each part being paged separately. Whether the single parts followed each other regularly does not appear, but is not likely.

What is the nature and object of these publications? Their title, the New World Messenger, indicates that they belong to periodical literature, and their seemingly irregular appearance classes them with the "Relations," or what the English used to call broadsides. We should bear in mind, however, that while

our modern magazine or review contains mostly articles written by professional writers, the letters which furnish the chief matter of our *Welt-Bott* were not written for publication. They were intended for some special person, in our case most frequently for the religious superior of the correspondent. We draw the conclusion from this that they can not have been intended to produce the effects which the modern periodical seems to have mainly in view. It does not seek to influence either the masses or classes, to produce either political or financial results, to impress public opinion or to influence the market. Its truthfulness may, therefore, for the most part be assumed. On the other hand, as the periodical frequently concerned itself with one kind of news only, and was therefore less liable to criticism, errors when once launched would be less easily corrected.

We have thus in the *Neue Welt-Bott* a kind of irregularly published magazine devoted to the publication of news from the missions. The news is told, not by special news gatherers, but by the actors or missionaries themselves. It is less liable to error and more vivid, being the report of eye-witnesses. That the *Welt-Bott* and the "Jesuit Relations" could be published for many years with profit, both moral and material, permits us to conclude that they had an interested and sufficient number of readers. Our periodical being dated about 1726, when even the political newspaper was of, comparatively speaking, recent date, and being addressed to the educated, inasmuch as the unintelligent could not read, argues that a large proportion of more educated Catholics were interested in the news of the missions and consequently in religious news in general. It may be doubted that at the present time proportionally as many Catholics interested in the heathen missions can be found.

As might be expected, the second half of the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth century is an epoch especially favorable to the missions. It is true that the missionary had accompanied the earliest explorations of the great period of geographical discovery. Columbus and Vasco da Gama were accompanied by apostles of the Faith. But as the first ex-

plorers reached only the outskirts of the countries they visited, these apostles could not reach the great masses of the newly discovered populations. Missionaries, of course, left their homes to preach the Gospel long before Columbus. The Franciscan missionaries that visited the Tartar Khans in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries were well-known types of the apostolic laborer. But the more modern missionary has his first and model representative in St. Francis Xavier, who went to India in the year 1541 and to Japan in 1549. Both of these countries, however, were thickly populated and offered a favorable field to the missionary. In the American missions, circumstances did not equally favor the early messenger of the Gospel. The Indians peopled the New World less densely than the populations of India, China, and Japan. Their countries offered less means of progress to the conquerors. In fact, many districts of both Americas were reached by the Europeans only many decades after the *Welt-Bott* was published. The missionaries that tell us their tales in the *Welt-Bott* frequently were the first missionaries to reach the district they attempted to evangelize. Their stories tell us of the condition of tribes untouched by civilization or in what used to be called a state of nature.

However, the *Welt-Bott* deals not only with American but also with Asiatic missions, that is to say, with the missions of India, China, and Japan. Their history is no less worthy of attention than the history of the American missions. But as the "Historical Records and Studies" are devoted to American history, we must pass over the Asiatic part of the *Welt-Bott's* recital and confine ourselves to the American missions.

We naturally ask what led to the publication of the *Welt-Bott*. The "Relations" of the French Jesuits began to be published about a century before our *Welt-Bott* and ceased to appear some fifty years before. But in 1702 a new series of similar letters appeared in France under the title of *Lettres Édifiantes*, and this publication may be looked upon as to some extent the model of our *Welt-Bott*. The *Lettres Édifiantes* are not only often referred to in the *Welt-Bott*, but are

mentioned by name as one of its sources. But Germany and Austria stood in a totally different relation to the missions from France. On the one hand, the German Empire was the principal seat of the Reformation started by Luther, and until the Counter-Reformation had not the means to supply missionaries to extra-German countries. On the other hand, Germany had no colonies, and, therefore, was not called upon to supply missionaries for them. Even after the Counter-Reformation in the middle of the sixteenth century made it possible for Germany to supply apostles for colonies of other nations, the Spanish and Portuguese governments, to whom these colonies chiefly belonged, restricted the missionaries to be employed to their own subjects. Only in 1664 did the Spanish sovereigns remove this restriction, and from that year forward the German Jesuits sent missionaries in ever-increasing numbers to preach the Gospel to the heathens of the Old World and the New. From a national standpoint, therefore, the news from the missions could not have interested the German people much before the eighteenth century.

But the publication of the *Neue Welt-Bott* was, in fact, largely due to accidental circumstances. Its editor, Father Stöcklein, a Bavarian Jesuit employed in Hungary, at last as a military chaplain, fell ill and retired to the Jesuit college at Gratz, in Styria. His illness left him much leisure time, which led him to conceive the project of issuing a publication resembling the *Lettres Édifiantes*. As the *Lettres Édifiantes* contained letters from French Jesuits, so the *Neue Welt-Bott*, as Stöcklein called his publication, principally contained the letters from the German Jesuits in the provinces of upper and lower Germany and Bohemia. The series begins with the year 1642, and the first three volumes, published by Stöcklein himself, who died in 1733, extend to a year or two before his death. After his death the periodical was continued by the Jesuits Carl Meyer, Peter Probst, and Franz Keller until it reached its thirty-sixth part. The latest letter contained in it is dated 1750.

Father Stöcklein, therefore, is the founder and principal

editor of this publication, which is frequently quoted by German writers under his name. Probably the greater number of letters are written by priests who worked in China and other parts of Asia. But a large number were written by missionaries preaching the Gospel in the New World. Not a few had the southwest of the United States and the adjoining States of Mexico as their missionary field. The reader will now see how the *Welt-Bott* concerns the American historian. When John Gilmary Shea, in the last century, began to publish the "Relations of the Canadian Jesuits," it excited universal interest, not only among historians, but among all intelligent Americans; not only among the Canadians, but throughout the great American Republic. It is, therefore, likely that the American letters found in the *Welt-Bott* would interest the American reader even more than the Canadian Jesuit Relations. The latter very seldom make an excursion into the present territory of the United States. The missionaries who write in the *Welt-Bott* had the scene of their activity not only in Mexico, but in a large part of our Southwestern States.

But what kind of historic information may we expect to find in the *Welt-Bott*? Of course, its prime object is to make the reader acquainted with the missions themselves, their location, their methods, their successes, and their failures. The geography of our missions is not the least interesting feature in the many interesting subjects placed before our eyes. It gives us almost the earliest glimpse of many parts of our country. The *Welt-Bott*, for instance, presents us with the very first map of California, designed by an Austrian Jesuit and a master of his craft, for among the missionaries sent to bring the Gospel to the American Indians were several who as professors of mathematics and science had an extended reputation as scientific scholars. Father Kühn, or, as the Spaniards called him, Chino, the maker of the map of California, had been professor of mathematics in the University of Ingolstadt before he came to America. As to the methods of evangelization followed by these men, it is astonishing how modern they appear to us. We are told by the latest claimants of missionary ex-

pertness that the teacher of the Gospel among the uncivilized heathens must practically begin by teaching them the arts of common life. Well, our missionaries brought to their Indian tribes the principles of farming and the rudiments of building, including carpentry and masonry. They brought them most of the domestic animals of Europe. Many of the Jesuit brothers were able architects, painters, decorators. They knew the rudiments of medicine, and, in fact, were the most reliable apothecaries in Mexico. What may be called the first Mexican pharmacopœia was the work of a German Jesuit brother. They were not only makers of musical instruments, but artists who, for the delight of their Indians and the attractiveness of the divine service, trained their half-barbarous pupils to become much admired musicians. Our letters tell of the disappointments of the apostles. In spite of months of travel by sea and land, and in spite of physical or moral obstacles, the missionaries break out into expressions of satisfaction and pleasure when they bring their often refractory scholars to a sense of their religious and moral duties.

But outside of the immediate objects of these letters, they teach us an endless variety of facts dealing with almost every modern science. My first glance at the *Welt-Bott* was dictated by philology. On the Christmas day when Santa Claus brought me the *Welt-Bott* I was reading an article in Professor Kluge's *Wortforschung und Wortgeschichte*. It was on the German word *Heimweh*, homesickness. German research traced the creation of this expression, for which formerly Swiss-sickness had been used, to the confines of the eighteenth century. The Jesuit Stöcklein, it informed me in the *Welt-Bott*, was the third writer to make use of this word. It drew my attention to the importance of the *Welt-Bott*, to the history of the German language. This was accentuated by the remarks of Father Stöcklein on the variations which he notices in German dialects, especially as notwithstanding his careful proof-reading, the type-setters chose to alter his genders and other forms according to their superior wisdom. Father Stöcklein is not the only Jesuit interested in the history of language.

The missionaries themselves, as occasion calls for it, give us their impressions on the various dialects of the Indian languages and dialects that they meet with and add quaint observations, showing their views on the relations of these languages.

Missionaries have a sharp eye for the peculiarities in manners, customs, superstitions, and beliefs of the tribes with which their apostolic labors bring them in contact. Here it seems to me that for the most part the German Jesuits are more reliable reporters of anthropological facts than many of the other missionaries, or for that matter than many subsequent travelers.

The tendency of the German Fathers, as far as superstitious beliefs, miracles, and other extraordinary facts are concerned, is well illustrated by the warning that precedes nearly every issue of the *Welt-Bott*. That the spirit of their caution is but the reflex of the spirit of the Church may be gathered at once from the very wording of the warning. It appears characteristic enough to warrant its being transcribed in full.

“WARNING OF THE AUTHOR.

“I, the above-mentioned author of this work, hereby protest that everything contained in the present book, regarding martyrs, confessors, and other holy persons, as well as about shrines, miracles, and the like here mentioned, should be understood according to the rules laid down by Pope Urban VIII. I do not, therefore, desire that these statements should be believed with a faith belonging to divine revelation, but that I relate the facts as they have come to my knowledge.”

We can not but admire the honesty and prudence of our author and his desire to claim no divine authority for his statements, and this makes them more valuable as historical material.

We have above referred to the ability of the German Jesuits in the mathematical, astronomical, and, therefore, in the geographical sciences. But their contributions in geography go far beyond their mere topographical achievements. Their observations in the field of ethnography, botany, and zoology

testify to their universal scientific interests. Their mission brought them to one of the most interesting parts of the New World, from the ethnographic point of view, for they are in the midst of the districts occupied by the Cliff-Dwellers, or Pueblo Indians, whose peculiar dwelling-places have aroused much curiosity during the past half century. They give us interesting information not only about the houses, but also about the religious and moral customs of the Indians, their food and drink and garments. Nothing seems to have escaped these attentive observers.

But their attention is not centered upon the Aborigines only. As they are not racially connected with the *Conquistadores*, they do not hesitate to speak of the faults of the Spaniards to their German superiors. From the nature of the circumstances, this makes their account of the Conquest, of the cruel or humane treatment of the Indians by their conquerors less an object of suspicion. In truth, the various writers very rarely hesitate to express their true opinions of the Spanish soldiers and officers. They blame the latter for many of the obstacles with which the missionaries have to contend, though they do not accuse them of tempting the Indians with the worst enemy brought into their homes by civilized Europeans—I mean the liquor enemy. We may, therefore, congratulate ourselves in having in them witnesses that are likely to do justice to the native Indians.

But it is not only on the Redskins and the New World that these letters throw light. Their interest is not confined to the phenomena of the land. Their eyes are fully open to the peculiarities of the sea and to the experiences which they may gather on the voyage over the great ocean. Many of the missionaries came from districts of Germany remote from the briny sea. But this only makes them more curious about the life on the ocean and on the ships. They watch the ocean in fair weather and in foul and the life on board, whether on week-days or on holidays. To a modern traveler on an Atlantic steamer, what would meet his eyes on a Spanish caravel would be a source of astonishment, and our Jesuit travelers are as

shrewd observers as the most curious of modern travelers. They note every naval contrivance, the purpose of every regulation, the use of every sail and every flag, the duties of the men and the officers, the means of communication between various members of the fleet, the order, and the discipline. What would strike the modern traveler above all is the religious spirit which pervades the entire ship crew. They not only scrupulously observe the Sunday, but are zealous in observing the holidays and feasts of the saints, as is shown by the vast number of saints' names given by the sailors to newly discovered places. When occasion offers, the sailors not only of a single vessel, but of a whole fleet take part in a novena given by the missionaries.

A great contrast to these peaceful exercises of piety are the sailors' constant fears of pirates, not only of the Barbary variety, but also of the English buccaneers, who were no less feared than the former and were even more formidable to the Spanish argosies.

It seems surprising that hitherto so little use has been made of our *Neue Welt-Bott*. The French and Spanish sources of our history have been almost exhausted, while we find few if any traces of the work of the German missionaries except so far as they come to us in a French or Spanish dress. Even so conscientious a collector as Hubert Bancroft, so far as I am aware, does not refer to them.¹ And yet the northern Mexican States and the southwest of the Union owe much to their German missionaries. Many of these districts were first explored by men like Chino and Gilg, and they seem to have been unusually fitted for the missionary life, as was remarked by their Spanish contemporaries. It seems to us, therefore, that history, American and Catholic, can not fail to profit by taking cognizance of the *Welt-Bott*. The reader will find in them the most vivid pictures of aboriginal life, as yet unadulter-

¹Even in Germany these letters until recently were but little known. Within the past year, however, Dr. Hantsch, in a contribution to the *Ehrengabe*, published on occasion of Professor Lamprecht's jubilee as a teacher, has drawn attention to the emphatic merits of the Jesuit missionaries in Mexico and to the historical value of their letters in the *Welt-Bott*.

ated by European vices or virtues, recited in language free from any attempt at the romantic. The *Welt-Bott* will acquaint them with noble self-sacrificing characters, whose simplicity is as admirable as their heroism. Their exploits demand as much courage and as much intelligence as those of the military *Conquistadores*, but are free from the repulsive features of selfishness, which so frequently mar the otherwise courageous adventures of the Spanish, French, or English soldier or colonist.

But we do not ask our readers to take our judgment for this appreciation. In the next following pages we present to them, by way of specimen, a translation of two letters found in the first volume of the *Welt-Bott*. They are from the pen of an Austrian Jesuit missionary, Father Gilg, and will be annotated from German and American sources by the translator, Professor August Rupp.

A LETTER

from Father Adam Gilg,¹ missionary of the Society of Jesus of the province of Bohemia, to an unnamed priest of the same Society and province at Prague. Written October 8, 1687, at Mexico. Incorporated is a letter from Father Eusebius Chino of the province of Upper Germany, missionary in California and Sonora, dated May 13, 1687.

REVEREND FATHER IN CHRIST:

P. C.

At last we have reached the City of Mexico, the goal of our journey. This on the 5th day of October, 1687. We sailed from the harbor of Cadiz on the 30th of June, but had to cast anchor as soon as we had passed beyond the Diamond and other cliffs, and there wait until the captains of the vessels, who are always the last to embark, had come aboard. Upon their arrival, on the 1st day of July, the entire fleet, which consisted of 23 vessels,² started under full sail, in the name of the Most High, under the supreme command of the Spanish Captain-General Don Ferdinando de Santilian, a commander so God-fearing and experienced that his virtues alone should have brought us in safety to our destination. The vessel on which I sailed was named *Campetschan de San Roman*; its commander was Don Pedro Ignatio Zoructa, a native of Biscay.

On the 10th of July we arrived at the first of the Canary Islands. The order and discipline that is maintained in such a fleet is in the main as follows. Among all the vessels there is one, the flagship, which directs all the others, and by which

¹Father Adam Gilg was born at Roemerstadt in Moravia December 20, 1653, and entered the Society of Jesus September 30, 1670, at Olmütz. He left for the missions in America in 1686-87. Upon his arrival in Mexico he was appointed to the mission among the Seri and Tepocas at Populo. According to Bancroft, "North Mexican States and Texas," vol. i, p. 275, Father Gilg was still in Populo in the year 1700.

²On account of the danger of attack by pirates and English and Dutch privateers vessels rarely sailed alone, but as a rule in fleets of twenty or more, accompanied by warships for their protection.

the rest must regulate their course; this vessel is called the *capitana*, and has on board the highest military officer, whose command over the fleet is absolute; it is always provided with two shallops or two small cutters, that the necessary information and orders may be given out and gathered. If then the flag-ship desires to signal the other vessels for any purpose, it runs up the land-flag at the stern (that is, at the top of the rearmost structure of the ship); on seeing this, one of the shallops hastens alongside to receive and execute the order. If at evening, when the fleet is not far from land, the *capitana* turns about, that is, turns its prow to the land, its stern toward the high sea, and in addition discharges a gun, the rest of the vessels are thereby ordered to lie at anchor during that night, that they may not be driven ashore by the wind or by the swell of the sea, and so be wrecked upon the coast.

Any vessel that first sees land is obliged to inform the fleet of this fact by firing a gun and displaying on the top of the mainmast the admiral's flag. If, on the other hand, a ship fires a shot without raising the flag, it thereby gives warning to the *capitana* either that it has sighted a strange vessel or that it is in danger. The next largest vessel after the *capitana* is the *almiranta*, which usually sails among the weaker and slower vessels to afford them protection.

During the voyage we conducted an eight-day mission with daily prayer and Christian instruction, together with other services, at the close of which all who were upon our vessel went to confession, and on St. Ignatius' day, which is also our founder's day, received holy communion. This feast we solemnized with first and second vespers, high Mass, firing of the cannon, display of the flags, and a performance which the ship's crew gave in the evening. This last took the form of a mock criminal court, in which the crew, disguised by a change of dress, summoned before them, one after another, the officers, traders, and all persons of distinction on board, passed judgment on their faults, fined some, demanded a tip from others, whom they spared out of respect, and exempted no one except only the priests. It is about the same as the so-called May-

king among the drummers in Germany. Other vessels celebrated their peculiar festivals in the same way on their own fixed days.

Toward the end of July we began to meet with seaweed and blue sea-globes,¹ which are formed by freezing from the salt water, but are so acid that they corrode and consume everything with which they come in contact. So, too, the lightning by night, the tired birds that alighted upon the sailyards, informed us that we were near land, and in fact we sighted this for the first time on the 4th of August, but we also noticed on the same evening a meteor in the constellation of Aquarius. During the night before the 6th of the same month all vessels lay at anchor because of the proximity of the dangerous island of Anguilla, and while expecting to enter the harbor of the island of Porto Rico on the following day, by a fortunate error we arrived instead at Agvada on the same island. Here we went ashore, took aboard fresh water and other provisions, but principally pork, which is very cheap and light here, and accordingly just as wholesome as lamb in Europe. This island is exceedingly productive of fruit; oranges and lemons and many other savory and fragrant fruits and trees, which are unknown in Europe, grow wild here in the forests. The island has its own bishop and two monasteries, one of which belongs to the Preacher Friars, the other to the Minorites. The inhabitants are partly whites and partly blacks, speak Spanish throughout, wear linen clothing, and usually do not eat bread, but small cakes baked from certain roots. However, they have a surplus of the best fruits, fowls, and pork. In the hot summer, as we learned from experience on St. Lawrence's day, it rains every day, as the result of which the otherwise unendurable heat is very much tempered.

At this place two of our fellow-travelers and brother Jesuits left us. These were Father John Baptist Haller of the Austrian

¹The blue sea-globes referred to were probably jelly-fishes, either the so-called Portuguese man-of-war or perhaps some of the numerous globular ctenophores; both types have cells which produce a severe stinging sensation in those who touch them. The Portuguese man-of-war, however, has the more decidedly blue color.

and Father Francis Davi of the Catalonian province, who set out with the new bishop of Cuba for his neighboring island, whence they may possibly be sent by him to Florida to await their assignment to their mission in that place.

On the 13th of August we left Agvada and sailed along the coast of the main island Hispaniola. On the 15th day, this being the day of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin, Father Peter Wantame, a native of the Netherlands from Ghent, took his solemn vows before our superior, Father Wilhelms, who said Mass for this purpose in the ship's chapel. For the rest Your Reverence may at will follow our journey as well as the points at which we landed on the accompanying chart, which I prepared myself. (This chart did not come into my possession or I would have given it to the reader.)

Here I shall briefly touch upon a few unusual occurrences that befell us on the voyage. Never have I seen more lightning and sheet-lightning than between the two islands Jamaica and Cuba. Divers vessels that we observed from a distance compelled us to be on our guard for fear that they might be pirates. Our vessel was followed by *dibarons*,¹ a variety of very large fish, which were surrounded by schools of other smaller fish that accompany these wonders of the deep on account of the protection which they receive from them. For on the approach of predaceous fishes they hide in the scales of the *dibaron* to escape being devoured by them; and in the same way they protect themselves against the *dibaron*, when in its hunger it opens its jaws to seize them. Strange to me was the circumstance that after we had seen the island of Cayman, and especially the island of Pinos, from a distance, we were, nevertheless, unable to overtake it for many days, although the map, undoubtedly through an error, places it quite near. We sailed past Capes San Antonio and San Juan, and

¹*Dibaron*, for *tiburón*, the Spanish name of the shark. The error in the statement that follows is due to the fact that the *remoras*, the smaller fish alluded to, attach themselves to the body of the shark by means of an oval sucking disk on the head. This undoubtedly gave rise to the illusion that they hid themselves, that is, their heads, in the scales (?) of the shark. At Key West few large sharks are seen without several of these *remoras*, or shark-suckers, attached to them.

at length reached a green, and consequently very deep, sound, abounding in fish, where for six days we lay becalmed and diverted ourselves with the pleasant pastime of fishing. The calm, as usual, was followed by a frightfully violent storm, during which the sea began to seeth like boiling water, while the rising waves spit forth flames¹ like a lighted torch. Then there arose a tempest accompanied by black clouds, thunder and lightning, and a gale of wind that scattered the fleet, and so alarmed several of the ships that they threw overboard a part of their cargoes, especially bales of paper, also wine- and oil-casks; the capitana herself lost her maintopmast. This storm continued for not less than eight days, and taught many to pray with trembling in fear of the Lord. Several corposants were seen on the ship, one of them indeed on the top of the mast.

On the 15th of September we arrived at Vera Cruz, just as that unfortunate vessel, which, nine years ago, while carrying our Fathers, ran upon the Diamond at Cadiz, had run aground in this harbor also and had already taken in some water; however, as other vessels quickly came to the rescue and relieved it of its cargo, it floated off again and escaped without further damage. Our vessel had hardly cast anchor, when a boat, sent by the Rev. Father Rector, called for us and brought us ashore. Although there is always much to be endured at sea, I must nevertheless confess that the generous affection and care of those in authority lightened all hardships, and as far as possible turned every grief to joy. In none did I find greater edification than in the traders; for often I said to myself, Do you see how these worldlings for the sake of a transitory, and therefore worthless, gain have regard neither for danger nor for hardships? And you should find it hard to bear such inconveniences in order to win everlasting happiness for yourself and for so many heathens, since our Faith assures us that all that we suffer here is as naught in comparison with the future glory that shall be revealed in us.

¹This phenomenon is due to phosphorescence.

In the *collegio* at Vera Cruz, where we met with every affection and courtesy, we remained only three days. After the lapse of this time we resumed our journey to Mexico, where we were most cordially entertained at the *collegio*, as we had been previously during the journey hither in that of Engelstatt or Puebla. The Rev. Father Provincial himself rode out two hours' journey from Mexico to meet us, gave us a good dinner, and brought us in three carriages as far as the suburbs. Here we were forced to transfer to magnificent coaches that the Spanish authorities had sent to fetch us; and in these we entered the city in greater splendor than we desired.

Hardly had we partially recovered from our tedious journey when a desire came upon us to learn to what place each of us was to go. This was soon made known to us. I for my part received orders to betake myself as assistant to Father Eusebius Chino of the Upper German province, who was the first to preach Christianity to the heathens of California, and discovered by personal observation that this region is an island, and accordingly separated from North America or from the district of Sonora, which lies to the east of it, by a narrow channel that can be crossed in one day. But inasmuch as the Spaniards refused to furnish him with even the smallest means of support in that place, he found himself compelled, against his will, to leave this island and settle on the opposite coast, in the province of Sonora, whence he can, as often as is necessary, cross over into California, of which he is the first apostle, and visit his newly founded mission there. He had, it is true, desired two assistants, but should be glad that even one is allowed him, seeing that the American heathens everywhere willingly submit to the Christian religion, so that our missionaries are needed in so many places that they must go in ones and twos to the different countries; he himself discovered new races in the district of Sonora, and made arrangements for their conversion. Is Your Reverence anxious to know what are the conditions in the above-mentioned mission in Sonora? As I have not been there myself, I can

not answer this question better than by inserting at this point a letter which the aforesaid Father Eusebius Chino sent from there to Europe on the 13th of May of the present year, 1687, and which in the main reads as follows:

“From Cucurpe (he writes), which is the last mission in the northwestern part of Sonora, we reached, on the 13th of March, 1687, a new heathen tribe named Our Lady of the Seven Dolors, otherwise Tschinnas de Bamuschil. We were three Jesuits, namely, Rev. Father Emanuel Gonzales as visitor, Father Josephus de Aquilas, missionary of the aforesaid Cucurpe, and I; the Father Visitor on the same day publicly christened a dying heathen, who, since he was, so to say, the judge of the rest, had earnestly desired holy baptism; and died a few days later.

“On the 14th of March, after the Father Visitor had started on the return journey, I pressed forward with Father Aquilas toward the northwest, and again came upon a community whose inhabitants call themselves Himiris. These with their chief came to meet us with cross and bows, and to our joy received us both peacefully; to this village we gave the name of St. Ignatius.

“On the 15th we began our return by a different route toward the village, where the Father Visitor had baptized the sick man, that is, to Our Lady of the Seven Dolors, and on our way came upon two further villages, to one of which we gave the name of St. Joseph, to the other Our Lady of Perpetual Help (Remedios); in both of these we noticed a desire for the Christian religion.

“On the 26th of March we again arrived at the above mentioned first village of Our Lady of the Seven Dolors, where I baptized thirty children and young people, among them also the two small sons of the chief. We remained in this place until about the end of April and built a house for prayer and also a simple rectory to serve as my residence. I am provided with a tall and eloquent interpreter, who gives me admirable assistance. The Indians of the place, especially

the younger people, are docile and attend the instruction in Christianity diligently.

"On the 27th of April I once more visited the village of St. Ignatius and baptized the children, postponing in the meanwhile the baptism of the adults until they had been sufficiently instructed in the Christian religion. As far as my maintenance and other necessities are concerned the neighboring missionaries must do their best to help me; and they do so willingly as far as their slender means permit, that I may continue in this newly discovered corner of the world, which enjoys a healthy climate and very comfortable quarters."

Thus far runs Father Eusebius Chino's letter, which he wrote in the Spanish language to the Indian procurator in Europe.

I leave to other missionaries the task of describing their apostolic troubles. Father Hostinsky will found a new mission with Father Neuman among the Tarahumare. Father Amarel, on the other hand, goes to Tecpari, which is an old mission of the Sonora district; to another mission of the same country Father Gai will be appointed, but he will also have several heathen tribes in his neighborhood. Father Wilhelm goes to Guadalupe, which lies above Tarahumara.¹

As a traveling companion I shall have Father Marcus Kappus of the Austrian province, who is to preside at the mission in Cucurpe in place of the above-mentioned Father Aquilas. We shall set out for our destination very soon, but shall not arrive there in less than three months; I shall make an orderly record of my journey as well as depict the country and the region of Sonora on maps in accordance with the rules of surveying, to please those who are eager to read accounts of our apostolic reports.

While I am getting ready for the journey our patience is tried by three earthquake shocks, one of which lasted a quarter of an hour. Here in Mexico it caused one house to fall and buried several people in the ruins. Surely if the houses of this city were not without roofs and only one story in height,

¹Tarahumara is sometimes called New Biscay.

it would long since have become but a heap of stones, as the result of the frequently occurring earthquakes.

The first of us to leave for his mission was Father Hostinsky, whom we shall soon follow, inasmuch as we have as a body obtained what we had so eagerly sought; for nearly all of us (the Spanish Fathers and a few others excepted) are to be sent to new missions, which are more difficult and before God more meritorious in proportion as they involve greater labor and danger on the one hand, and less renown and consolation on the other. So far as I am concerned I do not fear such hardships, which must be overcome neither by a change of place nor by the excellence of the office, but rather by self-control after the example of St. Xavier. For this reason I beg Your Reverence and all others to whom this letter is communicated to obtain for me at the source of all mercies, through the holy sacrifice of the Mass and prayer, the necessary strength, fortitude, perseverance, and blessing, to which end I most humbly commend myself to Your Reverence

Servant in Christ,

ADAM GILG,

Missionary of the Society of Jesus in Sonora.

Dated at Mexico the 8th of October, 1687.

LETTER

from Father Adam Gilg, missionary of the Society of Jesus, of the province of Bohemia, to the Reverend Father Rector of the College of the Society of Jesus at Brünn in Moravia. Written in February, 1692, at Populo in the domain of the Seri, district of Sonora.

REVEREND FATHER IN CHRIST:

P. C.

I am keeping the promise, made at the time of my departure, to send Your Reverence from the Indies a detailed account of the district that should fall to my lot. Such a report, however,

I could not and would not write until I had by my own experience become sufficiently familiar with this part of the world to give my statements proper authority. If, then, my report is somewhat late, it is so much the more complete, and the delay is all the more to be excused, because I am forwarding this letter from the country of the Seri (which in German, means Spät-Länder)¹ without knowing whether my former letter, that I sent Your Reverence from Mexico on the 8th of October, 1687, has reached you or has been sunk in the straits at Cadiz, and with some anxiety that the same fate may await the present communication. At all events, I am hereby acquitting myself of a promise and shall at once, without further digression, begin the account of my mission among the Seri.

The name Seri is not an Indian but a Spanish word which the Spaniards have applied to a people in North America who dwell on the farthest shores toward the west; but they are at the same time the very last tribe toward the north now known, and were first discovered and reduced to some order in our own times. This once savage people, who have now, however, become more gentle, formerly dwelt partly on the coast and partly on the islands of the Californian Sea back of another savage tribe who are called by some Oudebes,² by others, however, Pimas. After the latter had been drawn from the wilderness in which they were scattered, and gathered into villages, the former (that is the Seri) also migrated from the shores of the straits of California and its islands farther into the interior of Sonora and, so to say, joined the Pimas. They did this, not out of love for their ancient neighbors, who had likewise moved somewhat to the southeast, that is to say, into the newly built villages and settlements of the missionaries, but out of a desire for plunder, so that they might enrich themselves by robbing the recently converted Pimas. By these raids they brought down upon themselves the Spanish forces,

¹Westerners. The Seri to this day inhabit the island of Tiburon and the adjacent coast of Sonora.

²Eudeve or Eudebe. See F. W. Hodge, Handbook of American Indians, part 1, p. 445. Bulletin 30 of the Bureau of American Ethnology.

under whose protection the Pimas were, with the result that some thirty years ago (that is, about the year 1662) they suffered several crushing defeats; the adults who refused to submit were for the most part put to the sword or burned, while the children were distributed among the Christian villages. Finally, in 1679, the surviving adults of the Seri, through fear of the Spaniards, thought better of their conduct, and a number of them, at the urging of the devout and pious Father Juan Fernandez of our Society, late missionary at Ures, encamped in one place, built a large village there, and founded this new community, over which I now preside. To this place the said Father Fernandez, because of his extraordinary devotion to the holy mother of Christ, gave the name of Santa Maria del Populo, or Our Lady of the People; because he had set up as the altar-piece in the new house of prayer the image of Maria Major or Our Lady of the Snows, as she is worshiped in the Quirinal at Rome, and who was of old called Maria del Populo, whence, with the omission of the first part the town has to this day retained the name of Populo.

However, since Father Fernandez, who had to take care of two other Christian communities in addition to this, was after four years, possibly in 1683, transferred to another mission by order of his superiors, they left their newly built village and began again to wander about in the forests and among the Christian settlements. But very many had previously died shortly after receiving holy baptism, and their number had been accordingly diminished.

In the year 1686, a Spanish ship, after having given up all hopes of establishing new communities in California, sailed along the coast of the land of the Seri and made careful observations of the shore. Father Eusebius Franciscus Chino, who had firmly resolved to erect new missions in California, out of compassion for the Seri made use of this opportunity and traveled on the above-mentioned ship as far as Acapulco; from this point he went all the way to Mexico, and there obtained from the viceroy the necessary money to maintain a missionary permanently among the Seri. When this had been

determined upon and the Father Provincial of Mexico was asked to send a priest to the place, he fixed his eyes on me, who had just arrived from Europe. I set out at the first opportunity and entered upon my mission on the 11th of March, 1688. My orders are merely to re-establish the colony of Maria del Populo, but I have hopes with God's aid to convert in time the whole tribe of the Seri, who in language and customs differ completely from the neighboring Indians.

This tribe, which, though not numerous, is scattered far and wide, was in bad repute because of its inconstancy and idleness; in fact, I soon became aware of the existence of both of these vices among them, especially at the beginning, when many of them were unwilling to trust me, so that I myself had but little hope of leading them into the right path, particularly after the superior of these missions had offered me another position, without, however, giving me positive orders. The more I exerted myself among this rabble, the more opposition was shown to my projects, so that I could easily have decided to leave them, had not the love and example of Him who died upon the cross for these Seri also, prevailed upon me to remain among a people that is unwilling either to work or to dwell long in one place, because of the unproductiveness of the soil; for this tract of land, situated on the Gulf of California, is unusually dry and barren. For this reason, like the gypsies, they move from place to place, never tarrying long anywhere, in order that they may make use of the vegetation, fruits, herbs, and seeds that nature produces without any effort on their part; for this purpose, however, they visit those localities by preference in which at any particular season they find the means of subsistence most abundant; for the rest, without God, without law, without faith, without chiefs, and without houses, they live like cattle. But while there is no public worship among them, there likewise is no trace of idolatry, since they have never recognized or worshiped either a true or a false deity. But for some time they have known the Spanish name for the devil, and that, too, as the result of a strange apparition which I shall now describe, as I have heard it from many

Indians who were present at the time. When they were at war with the Spaniards, Satan himself in visible form came to an old woman and ordered her to summon all the Seri to a certain place, where the mission of the apostle St. Thaddeus, afterward founded and named by me, now stands, saying that he would there communicate to them something of the greatest importance. The old witch traveled through all the land, and at the appointed time and place brought together a large crowd of unbelieving heathens, who amused themselves until evening with leaping and dancing; then a youth with gleaming countenance and clad in red stepped forth from a rock close at hand, whispered something into their ears, and immediately returned to his rock, which opened and again swallowed him. Nothing more was seen or heard of him from that time. I have made diligent inquiries to learn what the spectre said, but they are so inconsistent in their statements that it has been impossible for me to reach any definite conclusion. However, they are all agreed as to that which I have narrated of the occurrence, with the unanimous addition that all who were present were exceedingly alarmed by this sight and ran hurriedly from the place; very many, however, were attacked on their return by an epidemic, and, together with others whom they infected, died. This story, since it is not the pleasure of the Almighty to confirm His Gospel here with miracles or visions, I am employing for the glory of God when I prove to my Indians from this apparition of the devil that devil, spirits, and angels do exist, and from this recognized truth pass on to the discussion of the creation of angels and men, the difference between their natures, the immortality of the soul, and so on to all the other articles of Faith.

The greatest and almost the only miracle that a missionary can at all times perform here is his own pious and in every way blameless conduct, in addition to an insatiable zeal, generosity toward the needy, and a tender though purely fatherly affection for his Indians, so that with the apostle he not only gives for nothing that which he received for nothing, but also endeavors to aid those in poverty and distress out of

his own resources and without recompense. It is truly marvelous that so many children and adults, although in good health, die soon after receiving holy baptism, and on that account I was really much concerned for fear that the Indians might misinterpret such numerous deaths to the detriment and decline of the Christian religion, or that they might deter one another from receiving the holy sacrament of baptism, as from something that killed people. However, this did not happen, but on the contrary many very old people, among them also a man from the large island of Sera, a short time before their death either crept to me or had themselves brought hither that they might be baptized by me before their demise, which to their consolation occurred in every instance soon after.

Just as on the one hand my Seri are, as I have said, without earnestness, diligence, and constancy, as well as without miracles and ability to comprehend the mysteries of the Christian religion, so on the other hand they are free from those coarse vices which are prevalent among almost all heathens and which are a powerful factor in deterring them from Christianity; for neither idolatry nor sorcery, nor drunkenness, nor avarice, nor the abuse of having several wives at a time, nor lewdness are in vogue among them. During all the time that I have lived among these otherwise semi-bestial people I have not heard of one unmarried female who had been seduced, although their nudity, seeing that almost all of them go about naked, must be a strong incentive to such acts.

The greatest obstacle that at present keeps them from Christianity is their uninterrupted deadly feud with the Cocmacakerzes, their neighbors, a savage tribe which, urged on by the evil spirit, since my coming here twice resolved to destroy us utterly, and has in fact made a beginning by strangling my cowherds. On this account my Seri, because I received no help from the Spaniards and was not able to protect them myself, have bitterly reproached me for my powerlessness, without, however, frightening me from my position and purpose. Finally, the longed for peace between the two tribes was concluded in the presence of the commander of the Spanish forces

as well as myself and another of our missionaries; and in addition I gathered together into new villages a number of savages from the forests and deserts. In like manner in the same year, 1691, which is now just past, I gathered the Tepocassi, who belong in the district of Sera, into a village at the very spot where, as related above, the devil once appeared to them, and there in company with Father Marcus Kappus of the Austrian Province, missionary at Cucurpe, celebrated the holy Mass. Father Kappus provided the food for the assemblage, while I preached the Gospel to the newly founded congregation. Meanwhile, I have visited them frequently (they are only two hours' journey from me), have instructed them in the Faith, helped them in the construction of their dwellings, and given the name of St. Thaddeus to the colony. Near by I established another village under the name of St. Eustachius, which was destroyed, however, the same night, while I was on my way home after the founding, by the peace-breaking Cocomacakerzes. My traveling companion (who was an Indian) was murdered in dastardly fashion while traveling at my side by night. I, having incurred the enmity of my Seri anew, because the Spaniards again left us without help, was repeatedly alarmed. A heavy downpour of rain flooded the country, spoiled the crops in the fields, and prevented our project of making an expedition against the Cocomacakerzes. In consequence, the majority of my Seri, both on account of the danger from the enemy and the dread of hunger, fled to other parts. Nevertheless, contrary to the advice of the Spaniards, I gathered together as many of the Seri as possible, and with this armed force pursued the enemy for two days. But as no part of them could be found, my Seri again departed, each to his own home. Since that time my village has been for the most part deserted by its inhabitants, who will not return until sowing time. However, the Spaniards are to send us some armed forces for our protection.

At the beginning of the present year, 1692, I went to the coast of Sonora, where fish are caught, that is, to those Seri who dwell along the coast. In future I shall visit them several

times a year and, beginning with the above-mentioned Tepokas, traverse the entire district preaching and instructing, until I have established a complete mission there with church and rectory, that I may in time take up my permanent abode there and leave to another missionary the mission of Populo, where the inhabitants have now quite put aside their inborn laziness; for they have built for me a neat residence and for themselves no mean houses, all according to rule and in the best order, and have besides laid the foundation for a large church, on which they are now busily at work. They are also looking forward to tilling the soil, for they fully understand agriculture now, and are not much behind the other villages in industry. They attend divine service with such devotion as one may expect from a people who from beasts have become men, and from men Christians. At least they surpass many Christians in that, notwithstanding their wild nature, they are not addicted to malice, blasphemy, avarice, and lewdness. For this reason I gladly baptize them after sufficient instruction, although many of them who live far from me die before I come to their deathbeds without receiving the holy sacraments, which in their stupidity they can not understand or appreciate. For these God must do His best by crushing their hearts with sorrow and by the grace of final repentance.

Those of our province who have a longing to come to these islands must not imagine that they will reap a rich harvest of souls here for their consolation and fame, much less, so far as the comforts of life are concerned, that they will find here all the necessaries of life. For there are in America two kinds of missions: some are already elegantly furnished, and properly equipped with everything; however, *pisces non sunt pro Lombardis*, it is not for these that the European provinces need feel anxiety. Other missions, on the contrary, either are not yet begun, or were founded only a short while ago; and it is for these, as experience teaches, that foreign Fathers have always been desired, in such manner that the farther they have come, the farther they are also sent toward the frontiers; and for this reason these ought to be the very men who can least

be spared and might, therefore, better be kept in the fatherland than be yielded up to foreign provinces for their missionaries. But the fact that foreign Jesuits are sent here from time to time is of great advantage not only to the Indians but also to the European provinces; to the former, because not every one is fitted for every task; to the latter, that our novices in Germany may from the very beginning be intent upon magnanimous deeds, and consequently, if they do not receive a hearing, may bear with so much greater patience the lesser dangers and hardships in their fatherland. Not that there is any peculiar danger here that they would be executed by tyrants for their religion, although not long ago two of our fathers were put to death by the Tarahumares for this reason; but because in this place, as in a desert, the annoyances to be endured are not a few, among which the defective character of the native tongue is not the least. This language, formerly regarded as impossible to be learned, I have mastered; and what is more, I have published a grammar setting forth rules by which it may be easily and quickly understood. Nothing causes me more difficulty than the want of several words, because not only all supernatural and spiritual matters, but also all qualities, operations, or powers of the mind, in a word, all things that can not be perceived by the senses, have no name among this wild people. For this reason the task of finding a name for these nameless things when I am preparing a sermon or a lesson in Christianity takes more time than the subject matter itself. Added to this is the fact that, although the total number of *Seri* belonging to the tribes thus far known does not exceed three thousand souls—unless there are other tribes of this name in the islands of the Californian Sea of whom I have no knowledge—yet there are in use among this small number of people several different languages, none of which is completely comprehensible to those who speak one of the others. Nevertheless, all languages of the entire world seem like one to me, inasmuch as all the tongues of the earth employ words of almost one and the same sort, which, however, with the transposition of one or more letters or syllables are differently pronounced in different

districts and convey different meanings to different races. Therefore, since the Seri have a number of words that coincide with the German, I have learned their language the more rapidly the smaller the number of words and names it contains. This poverty of words, that is characteristic of all barbarian languages, compels missionaries and Indians to enrich them with new words, so that the one may reveal to the other all his thoughts upon every subject. It is for this reason that they give strange names to the previously unknown and unnamed things that have been brought from Europe, for they call cows and oxen large deer, wheat and grain sowing-seed, and all the metals sale. On the other hand, there is no race under the sun that distinguishes the degrees of relationship and friendship with more names than these same Seri of mine; for the son calls his father by a different name than does the daughter; the older brother the younger by a different name than the younger the older, and so on through the other members of the genealogical tree, so that a stranger finds it extremely difficult to remember so many appellations of relatives. In this, too, the Seri are peculiar, that they never use the little words *not* and *no*, but employ negative words instead (thus instead of saying the fellow is not full-witted, they say the fellow is a fool); and that, while the neighboring tribes have these two little words ever on their lips, and the Pimas are on this account called the men of no and naught.¹

Another difficulty is due to the fact that it is impossible to encourage the new converts by pointing out to them examples of God-fearing Christians of the older Christian nations, because the Spaniards by their wanton mode of life scandalize rather than edify them, in fact the higher their rank the deeper are they often sunk in depravity. Lastly, the missionary must be on his guard that in his efforts to save the souls of others he does not damn himself. For as he must provide not only for their souls but also for their bodies, he might

¹Pima in the Nevome dialect means "no," and was applied to the tribe through misunderstanding by the early missionaries. Hodge, *op. cit.* Part 2, p. 251.

easily be too much concerned about their temporal welfare to the neglect or detriment of the spiritual, and wither like the accursed fig-tree, a danger which besets the old missions, however, in a higher degree than the new; for the latter because of the want of so many of the necessities are forced, as it were, to take refuge in God alone, since human aid is lacking. But enough of this; let us to something else.

In view of the fact that we are both fond of the mathematical sciences, and, therefore, also of surveying and geography, Your Reverence will undoubtedly desire me to describe this country according to the rules of this science. I am, therefore, enclosing a map that I have recently completed and drawn with my own hand. Your Reverence may consult this and satisfy your desire at will. (This map did not come into the possession of the editor.) The latitude is easily found anywhere at any time of year, but the longitude must either be calculated by the number of miles traveled or else be computed by taking advantage of eclipses; in the latter case two mathematicians dwelling far apart in different countries carefully observe the planet's shadow (*phasium observatione*), measure the obscuration at the same time, and by correspondence inform one another of what they have learned. For this I have neither the time nor the means. Furthermore, we are so far from Prague that we are not able to see an eclipse from beginning to end at the same time, much less measure it for comparison. This much I shall say, that between me and Prague there must be counted one hundred and forty-nine degrees of longitude, and my village, Maria del Populo, therefore lies in $245^{\circ} 40'$ longitude; that is, if the first meridian is drawn through the island of Teneriffe, in the Canaries, and Prague accordingly lies in $34^{\circ} 40'$ longitude.¹ Now we shall take up together the map that I have sent you.

This province of North America, and more particularly the district of Sonora, consists for the most part of mountains that stretch from south to north, and from a distance presents the appearance of being broken up by numerous furrows. I alone

¹The longitude given is in both cases east of Teneriffe.

have in my extensive mission a tract of level country extending from these mountains in a wide expanse to the sea. Over this I often travel, that is, whenever I desire to visit my new Christian communities located on this plain toward the sea. The river that traverses this region has this strange peculiarity, that at several places, especially in summer, it disappears into the earth, only to issue forth again after a time at a point farther down. The country abounds in roe and red deer, wild goats, hares, squirrels, and very small boars; these stand me in good stead on my travels, especially when I have a good bowman with me, so that when other food is lacking I can at least appease my hunger with game. In this same region I discovered salt, which other missionaries have to bring from considerable distances.

The Seri who dwell by the shore of the sea are tall and of comely appearance, but as they themselves say, mere dwarfs in comparison with the giants who live beyond the sea, since these need no boats to cross the waters, but wade through on foot. Whether this land opposite us is the island of California or another island facing the island of Sera I am unable to inform Your Reverence, as the Indians themselves do not know.

My Seri built their ships not of wooden planks, but of three bundles of reeds tied together, which in front and rear come to a narrow point, while in the center they are spread far apart and form a hollow belly. In the same way they use a moderately large stone instead of an anchor when they wish to secure their boat in position. The first time I visited the sea-coast, I found a giant rib of incredible size.

Our visitor, Rev. Father Juan Salvatierra, is urgently pressing Father Eusebius Chino and myself to build a ship and sail over into the province of California to find out whether the inhabitants will submit to Christianity. We are, of course, willing and ready to obey him, but lack suitable timber, which would have to be brought from a great distance, at considerable expense of labor and money, something at present beyond our means.

I shall now describe the life and manners of my Seri. Many

of them die soon after birth because they not only pierce the ears and septum of the nose of their new-born children, but also puncture their faces about the eyes and mouth with thorns, so that when the wounds have stopped bleeding, the scars from them may leave black dots or spots, which are their greatest ornament. From the pierced ears and noses they suspend either precious stones or a pretty piece of shell. Adults, however, fasten a toothpick under their nose instead. Young boys to the age of sixteen, and also old men, go about naked; and although after the age of sixteen the former, by way of various childish sports, wear many-colored belts about their loins, the pudenda are nevertheless left uncovered in both, so that one must often see what it is not permitted to look at. The young Seri are high-spirited, cheerful, and possessed of a good memory, but inconstant and vain; for they adorn and deck out their otherwise naked bodies with all sorts of colors, feathers, and childish baubles. The more ridiculously a young man is decked out, the more beautiful and distinguished he appears to his fellows. After the young men have reached maturity, because they do not listen to common sense or submit to any law, they become lazy and deceitful, except the Christians; but even these are so little inclined to rack their brains with mature consideration of God's truths, that when one who has been set over the others in the performance of the duties of his office proposes anything to them, he can say nothing but: Listen, my friends (he then names one after the other with the names of their lengthy genealogical table); let us, he says, do this or that for God, for the Virgin Mary, and for our Father Missionary. Among other unnatural customs is this, that no father-in-law may speak or come near to his son-in-law, or vice versa.

They mourn their dead for a whole day with horrible howling; but in addition to this the women often thereafter at night and at daybreak sing certain dirges that have no meaning and are without intelligible words, and consist merely of a mournful melody to express grief, like the wailing of cats. If a child dies or a good friend, the parents have their own

heads closely shorn and their faces painted black; they also lay aside all clothing, if they wore any before that, and go about with their dirty bodies absolutely naked. My Seri, while they were still heathens, placed the dead bodies on trees and protected them on all sides with thorns, so that they might be dried up by the sun and not be devoured or pecked at by birds of prey; on the other hand, their neighbors, the Pimas, burn all their corpses to ashes.

The Creator of all things has revealed to them certain remedies with which they easily cure themselves of diseases, but especially of the bites of the numerous poisonous snakes, as I have learned in my own person in the case of a scorpion's sting. These, together with other similar feverish conditions, they heal by means of fire, that is, by severely scorching and burning the skin of the sufferer.

Most of them attain a very old age, unless they are killed from ambush by the enemy; for they do not readily engage each other in open combat or otherwise in a fair field by broad daylight, but only by treachery in the darkness of night, when one watches and lies in wait for the other until such time as he lies down to sleep, a plan that succeeds the more easily the less the one party is on his guard against the other to prevent this. And just as they are for the most part too lazy to build themselves houses, and consequently sleep in the fields or in the streets under the open sky, they are likewise easily betrayed by their campfires, and being thus surprised by the enemy, are shot to death with arrows. Whenever some one has been murdered in this way, his friends, but above all the old women, mourn for him and continue the lamentations for him until one of his relatives has avenged his death in the same dastardly manner.

Should Your Reverence desire to behold one of these Seri from head to foot, I shall introduce him to you in writing. Some allow the hair to fall freely over the shoulders; others twist it together about the temples; a few raise it above the head like a helmet by means of a leather circlet. Eyes and mouth, as stated above, are surrounded with small black spots;

the cheeks are painted blue or else colored with the blood of a wild animal; from the nose a blue stone or toothpick, from the lobes of the ears, however, shells or ribbons of various colors are suspended; the body, especially the breast and buttocks, is painted in various ways. Thereby they betray themselves to the greedy Spaniards who want to know from what source they obtain these minerals, and then compel them to atone for their barbarous pomp by hard labor in the mines. However, we have obtained from His Catholic Majesty the concession that the newly baptized remain exempt from such service for the first twenty years. From the neck hangs a finely polished, round sea-shell together with all kinds of grains, seeds, beads, and other such trifles. On the left arm they wear a band made of braided leather thongs, into which they thrust their bare knife. They protect their feet with several layers of deerskin wound one over the other, after the fashion of the Roman boots. For protection against the cold they clothe themselves in hare-skins, which they cut into square and oblong strips, fasten together lengthwise, sew these strips together, each one separately, so that they resemble tubes, but in such a way that all roughness is on the outside. These rods, as it were, of fur they join together with small strips of leather so ingeniously that both on the outer and inner surfaces nothing is to be seen except a continuous stretch of fur. (Such robes have also been worn of old by the canons in Europe.) Married men cover the lower abdomen, rear and front, with foxskins. The women, on the other hand, from earliest childhood cover the lower body with a skirt of animal-skins, if they can get nothing better. However, it is impossible to prescribe any fixed mode of dress for those Seri who have begun to clothe themselves at least somewhat more respectably than formerly; for they put on their persons everything that falls into their hands, without paying the least attention to the character of the garment and how it ought to be worn. Some go about in nothing but a shirt; others have only trousers; others again make use of the trousers as a coat and wear the coat as trousers, inasmuch as they wear the lower garment above and the upper garment below, that is,

the coat about the hips and the trousers about the breast. But it is a still more laughable sight to see a pair of trousers, a hat or a coat pass from the possession of one person to another, so that the same garment is worn in turn by the entire community. The cause of this is a game played with little sticks of wood to which they are much addicted; for they put up the garment as a prize. Besides, they hold clothing and all household furniture in so little estimation that the man who is respectably clothed to-day goes about naked on the morrow; for a friend will give to another all that he possesses at once. This they consider an act of generosity, of which they are fond of boasting, while, on the other hand, they despise a man who manages his affairs with care, and upbraid him with being too much concerned about his possessions. For this reason there are among them some who will suddenly call together their poor neighbors and at one time distribute among them all the provisions and clothing that they have been a long time in saving. Even the small children will take a morsel from their mouths in order to share it with another. They wait upon their sick with indescribable devotion; but woe to him who does them an injury, since there is no possibility of a reconciliation.

Two seasons of the year cause the Seri much suffering, that is the cold and the warm, rainy season, the former in the depth of winter, the latter in the height of summer; for the frost so weakens their bodies that at that time they are hardly fit for any service. However, they attend divine service even in the bitterest cold dressed in poor rags. In the summer, on the other hand, they delight to go into the mountains, which, however, are unfruitful and bare, but abundantly supplied with certain trees which the Spaniards call *organo*,¹ but the natives *himammas*. These grow straight up like a round column and produce, not upon the branches but upon the trunk and bark, which are covered with thorns and spines, a fruit that is delicious beyond measure and could be served with honor at any table, even that of a king. Unfortunately it can not be kept,

¹This is the saguaro cactus (*cereus giganteus*), called organ because its high, round, fluted stem resembles an organ pipe.

but spoils overnight. Of this fruit, which lasts for two months, many Indians eat so much that they become sick; they also press a good wine out of it, which they drink to excess. The remaining fruits and seeds, which according to season grow wild, are also very wholesome, growing as they do from an earth rich in minerals. However, those who give themselves up to agriculture, and have in this way become accustomed to our European bread, made of wheat and maize, do not esteem their native fruits, seeds, and other barbarian delicacies very highly. Among these latter are wild rats, marmots, grasshoppers, yellow lob-worms, their own *s. v.* lice, and carrion of wild animals that have been mangled by lions or birds of prey; all of these they eat with apparent enjoyment. Nevertheless, one of my Indians dared to tell me that all that they consumed in the way of food was clean, while we Europeans, on the contrary, swallowed all kinds of trash, by which he meant mutton and all spiced dishes; nor was it possible to dissuade him from his silly conceit.

Their arts and handicraft will not rob me of much ink, for these are but few and as follows. They make bows, quivers, and arrows, whose heads were formerly of stone; plait baskets and rugs or mats out of palms and cane; bake pots and other earthen vessels of unusual size; and lastly tan the hides of wild animals into a very soft leather with the brains or tallow of the animals themselves. This was all they knew previous to our coming; and so it is not strange if no order was found among them, seeing that such ignorance prevailed. At present, however, they have learned some discipline from the Spaniards, which consists principally in this, that in each village a magistrate is in supreme command and has other officials under him, who are appointed by the Spanish authorities, and carry in their hand a beautiful baton as a symbol of authority. On the other hand, the missionary selects the *fiscales* or fathers of the church, who help him govern the church. God grant that I may accomplish much good among this bestial people. It would, indeed, be more pleasant to preach the Gospel to other heathens, where there is hope of greater results, but at the same





Map of the Gulf of Mexico

time it would be more dangerous because of vainglory. I am content, therefore, to glean the ears that other rich reapers overlook, even though I know that they are not as precious as their beautiful sheaves; for God, whom we alone serve, is worth everything, and so gracious that He does not despise the aged widow's two last farthings that she offers in the temple. That my zeal also may find favor in His eyes, I beg Your Reverence and others who may read these lines to support my efforts by your Masses and prayers.

I am

Your Reverence

Unworthy servant in Christ,

ADAM GILG,

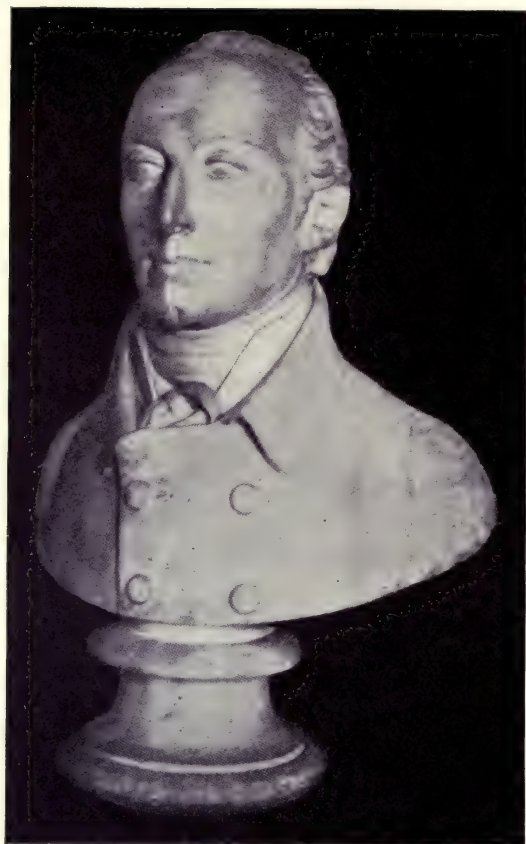
Missionary of the Society of Jesus.

Written in North America, in the district of Sonora, in the country of the Seri, in the village S. Maria del Populo, in the month of February, of the year 1692.

Father Eusebius Kühn, or Kino, as his name is generally written—the latter form, as well as Chino, being a Spanish modification of the original—was born at Trent in the Austrian Tyrol on August 10, 1644, and was admitted into the Society of Jesus November 20, 1665. He was educated at Ala College, and was later connected with the University of Ingolstadt in Bavaria, where he was appointed to the professorship of mathematics. In pursuance of a vow to St. Francis Xavier, he resigned the professorship to devote his life to the conversion of the heathen in America. After a voyage full of adventure, including shipwreck, he reached Mexico in 1681. Here he at once attracted attention by the publication of an astronomical treatise on the comet of 1680, in which he severely criticized the views of the distinguished D. Carlos de Sigüenza y Gongora, and was soon after appointed

cosmographer to the expedition of Admiral Otondo, as well as missionary for California. While he was unsuccessful in erecting any permanent mission in Lower California, it was nevertheless due to his pleading that Father Juan Maria Salvatierra became interested in this region, and finally obtained the necessary funds for the work in 1697. Father Kino made numerous exploring expeditions through Sonora and what is now Arizona, crossing the river Gila, and discovering the mouth of the Colorado, and thus demonstrating for the first time that California was a peninsula and not an island. On all his expeditions he made careful cartographic notes and founded numerous missions in the newly discovered territory. The accuracy of his cartographic notes is evidenced by the accompanying map, which, considering the difficulties under which it was drawn, is remarkably accurate. Among the earliest missions founded by him are those of Dolores, just above Cucurpe, of which he seems to have remained missionary to the time of his death, San Ignacio, San José Imuris or Himeris, and Remedios. In the course of his travels he is said to have covered twenty thousand miles and to have baptized between forty thousand and fifty thousand heathens. He died March 15, 1711, at St. Magdalena, shot, according to a letter of Father A. Benz, by rebellious Indians. Bancroft, however, in his "History of the North Mexican States and Texas," vol. i, p. 506, quoting Alegre, says that Father Kino was attacked by his final illness while saying Mass in a small chapel that Father Campos, missionary at St. Magdalena, had just completed in honor of St. Francis Xavier.

For a list of Father Kino's writings, see De Backer, *Bibliothèque des Écrivains de la Compagnie de Jésus*, p. 368, or Huonder, *Deutsche Jesuitenmissionäre*, etc., p. 111.



M. JOSEPH PICOT LIMOËLAN DE LA CLORIVIÈRE.

JOSEPH PICOT LIMOËLAN DE LA CLORIVIÈRE

BY PIERRE MARIQUE, PH.D., PD.D.

Early in 1803 there landed in New York City a young Frenchman who had crossed the ocean as a sailor on the brig which had brought him from St. Malo. His plain apparel, together with the rather bourgeois name of Guitry, seemed to point him out as a member of the lower middle class, but only a cursory observer would have said so. Indeed, Guitry's apparel formed a striking contrast with his manners. No nobleman of the Court of Louis XVI was superior in point of etiquette to this easy and affable young immigrant, who was a remarkable specimen of the Breton type. Of medium height, strongly built, he had blue, myopic eyes with a very intelligent and determined expression, the characteristically serious, thoughtful look of his compatriots; he usually wore glasses; he had a strong, clean-shaven chin, which gave to his distinguished features an energetic appearance. Another characteristic of this singular person was his reticence about himself and his past. For the next three or four years of his stay in the United States he made no friends or acquaintances. He was thought by some to belong to that "irreconcilable" faction of the French Royalist party which preferred exile and poverty to ease and comfort at home under the rule of the "usurper." But this was little more than a surmise, for Guitry himself, not very approachable on any subject, was still more averse to a discussion of French politics. During his stay in New York, which lasted only a few months, he was known as a painter and designer of some skill, but had the reputation of being an uncompanionable sort of a fellow. Presently he had the wanderlust; he went south to the Carolinas and roamed over the whole of these States, apparently pursued by an ever-present fear. It was a noticeable fact that he never long remained in the same place. From Charleston he went to Savannah; from thence into the interior

of the State until, in 1806, he abruptly terminated his vagrant life in the episcopal city of Baltimore.

Now at that time a mission was given by the Sulpician Fathers at the chapel of their seminary of St. Mary. Our wandering immigrant attended this mission, and when it was over an addition was made to the students of St. Mary's Seminary in the person of Joseph de la Clorivière. Why Joseph de la Clorivière became an applicant for Holy Orders, why he had for many years lived under an assumed name, will be best answered by a biography.

Joseph Picot Limoëlan de la Clorivière was born at Nantes, Brittany, November 4, 1768, and belonged to the petty nobility of France. With Chateaubriand he studied at Dinan under the direction of l'Abbé Clorivière, a relative of his. He has enjoyed the privilege of being mentioned in his more famous compatriot's *Mémoires d'Outre-Tombe*. Like Chateaubriand, he enlisted as an officer in the King's service and tasted of the idle and dissipated garrison life in Paris; thus the Revolution found him. He emigrated to the Isle of Jersey, then, as now, an English possession, on the northern coast of France. He soon returned to his native Brittany, however, became an active Royalist partisan, and raised in the vicinity of St. Méen and Gaël an independent company of Chouans or Breton volunteers for the Royal cause. With the advent of Cadoudal his own and numerous other bands were incorporated into a larger body of troops, under the supreme command of that famous general. Limoëlan distinguished himself on several occasions and rose to the rank of adjutant-general; for some time he was even at the head of one of the Royalist divisions that operated about Fougères. But the accession of Bonaparte in 1799 brought Limoëlan's military career to an end. One of the first official acts of the Consul was to take the most energetic measures for the suppression of the Royalist uprisings in the West. One after the other the leaders of the movement were compelled to surrender. Some transferred their allegiance to the new régime, but the majority remained faithful to the Bourbons; among the latter was Limoëlan. Like most of his countrymen he was

a fervent Catholic, a man of deep religious convictions even bordering on mysticism; the cause of the Catholic religion in France was to him indissolubly bound to the cause of the House of Bourbon. Bonaparte, he would admit, was undoubtedly a remarkable man, a wonderful military genius, a great statesman; he had concluded a glorious peace for his country, had restored material order out of the administrative chaos of the last six or seven years; but with all that, was he not a child of the Revolution, a supporter, nay the very personification of those principles which should be hateful to all true Catholics and Royalists? It was in this frame of mind that, after the pacification of la Vendée and Brittany in the latter part of 1800, Limoëlan repaired to Paris. Ostensibly, he came to the capital in order to secure the removal of his name from the list of *émigrés*. To his friends as well as to his former foes he never tired of repeating that his submission was complete and sincere, that he had given up all hope of a Bourbon Restoration, that his only wish, his most cherished dream, was now to live a quiet, law-abiding life under the rule of Bonaparte, for whom he professed the greatest admiration. There is a letter of his dated December 3, 1800, in which he says: "Although I have not been treated in a manner to inspire on my part great confidence in the government, since my name is still on the list of *émigrés*, and this despite positive promises which had been made to me, still I am not fool enough to ignore the strength of the government and to conspire against it. I assure you, Citizen Minister, that I long for nothing short of perfect quiet and that I remain in Paris only because I fear not to enjoy tranquillity in Brittany." The suspicions of the police, if they had any against this former Chouan, were certainly not likely to be aroused by the society which he seemed to frequent. These were a harmless though very queer gathering of representatives of old Royalist France; old nuns who had contrived to escape unnoticed through the great Revolution; old ladies whose political creed was all summed up in the one phrase "submission to the powers that rule"; old dowagers and marquises who had fled at the very outset of the Revolution

in order to seek some shelter abroad against the political storm and had flocked back to Paris, to their dear old habits as soon as they thought they could return there in safety. Quietly, almost silently, this remnant of the old régime was coming back to life. They had their salons and *petits soupers* and petty intrigues as of yore.

Religious who had lived in concealment since August 10, 1792, ventured now to resume a semblance of community life. An old professed nun of Saint-Michel, Mother Marie-Anne Duquesne, had met a few of her Sisters, and with the help of a pious lady, Mlle. Adélaïde Champion de Cicé, she had rented an old building and a dilapidated chapel in the Rue Notre Dame-des-Champs; she was trying to gather there her old dispersed companions, now decrepit and still haunted with fears, yet happy to find the shelter and the peace of a convent life—a convent so poor that in winter the inmates went to sleep at five o'clock to save candle-light and where one of the nuns announced the services by clapping her hands for lack of a bell.

Mlle. de Cicé, one of whose brothers was the former Bishop of Auxerré and the other the former Archbishop of Bordeaux, both of them *émigrés*, had not left Paris since 1791. At the time of the Consulate she was fifty-one years old. With that supreme indifference which souls really detached from worldly cares profess for political events she was hardly aware that a revolution had taken place. Even during the Reign of Terror she would leave her house every day at dawn as she had always done, going through Paris even to the very limits of the city in search of the sick, of women and men to be helped in their misery or comforted in their afflictions. She boldly knocked at the door of the rich even though they were notorious "Jacobins," and managed to obtain from them money, old clothes, and old shoes which she immediately distributed. She concealed neither her noble name nor her aristocratic connections and never did she think of forsaking her poor to shield herself from possible arrest.

One of Mlle. de Cicé's spiritual advisers was a former Jesuit priest, Pierre-Joseph Picot de la Clorivière, who had come to

Paris in the early days of the Republic with the intention of re-establishing the Society of Jesus, which had been dissolved in 1762. To become a member of the congregation, which he had founded, one had to be either a widower or bachelor, a widow or maid, for the membership of this new association was open to both sexes, and after a novitiate of varying duration the candidate had to take the vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience. It was the intention of the founder that the society should take the place of the Religious Orders which the Revolution had scattered. The members bound themselves "to use for their own sustenance only what was strictly necessary and to apply the surplus to works of charity and mercy." Father Clorivière, heedless of danger, had stayed in Paris during the Revolution and had gathered a nucleus of ten men and four women whom he had entrusted with the difficult and dangerous task of making recruits. The society was placed directly under the authority of the Holy Father and acknowledged as its patron and protector St. Ignatius Loyola.

Father Clorivière was the uncle and godfather of Limoëlan, who had been introduced by him to a few pious and intimate friends. The young Chouan, it has already been remarked, was very much attached to the Catholic religion, as were his mother and sisters, then living in Versailles, and the young lady he was to marry as soon as his name had been erased from the list of *émigrés*. It was ostensibly to secure this removal that Limoëlan had repaired to Paris, and it is quite possible that his stay there was at first for no other purpose; but in the latter part of 1800 the main object of his presence in the capitol was certainly a very different one, for he was then preparing that most daring and desperate undertaking known in the history of the Consulate as the "Infernal Machine."

Very few persons were aware of his projects, and he seems to have had but two active accomplices: an old Chouan whose acquaintance he had formed in the West, Robinault St. Réjant by name, known to the secret service as Pierrot, St. Martin, Sollier, Soyer, etc., and Carbon, alias Petit François, an old servant of Limoëlan. In their secret deliberations various

modes of "ridding the country of the tyrant from Corsica" were discussed. The idea of shooting him down somewhere near Malmaison, his country-seat on the outskirts of Paris, had first come up, but had been immediately rejected. The Consul, besides traveling in a closed and it was even whispered an armored carriage, was always accompanied by a detachment of mounted grenadiers, whose drawn swords kept passers-by at a distance. The conspirators finally decided that the best means of attaining their end was an infernal machine which would blow up carriage and escort.

On the 17th of December Carbon presented himself at the store of one Lambel, a grain merchant, Rue Meslée, and bought from him a two-wheeled wagon and an old, foundered nag, for which he paid 200 francs cash down. On the 19th of December (or Frimaire 27, Republican calendar) he returned thither to fetch his purchases and drove them along Rue Paradis, hard by the walls of St. Lazare, to a shed rented beforehand. Before the 22d the machine was completed; a barrel placed upright on the wagon, strengthened by numerous steel hoops, was the shell or covering which was to contain the powder, which was kept at the house of citizeness Vallon, a laundress in the Rue St. Martin and a sister of Carbon's. Hither, on the 24th of December (3 Nivôse) Limoëlan went, in company of Carbon, and then set out for the house of the latter's sister. In the Rue St. Martin, not far from the St. Denis gate, two men stepped forward, and taking the barrel brought it to the laundress' house. A half-hour later they reappeared, dragging along on a hand-cart the barrel full of powder and so heavy that their united efforts were scarce sufficient to put it back on the vehicle. St. Réjant, Carbon, and Limoëlan now proceeded through the Rue Neuve-Egalité toward the Carrousel. Limoëlan, at the bridle, was leading, supporting rather, and at times administering salutary cuffs to the poor nag, to keep him on his feet for the last stage of his mortal journey. His acolytes, under semblance of supporting their cargo, were quietly dropping pebbles, picked up in the street, into the barrel, which, covered with tarred cloth, escaped the gaze of the curious. Thus they

reached the Place des Victoires, where Carbon left them, and the two friends continued their journey to the Carrousel as before, each buried in his own reflections and attracting little attention. The night was foggy, the weather foul and damp; there were very few persons in the street, for most people were preparing to celebrate Christmas Eve in their homes; on the whole, a most favorable night for the conspirators.

It was seven o'clock when they arrived at the Carrousel. On this large square, which was much smaller in those days than now, opened the stables of the Consul, directly opposite the Palais des Tuileries. Limoëlan and St. Réjant stopped their wagon in the Rue St. Nicaise, along the walls of the former Hôtel Longueville, a few steps only from the Carrousel, and apparently wedged up their barrel. In reality they had, unnoticed, slipped a fuse into the barrel, one end of which protruded from under the tarpaulin. St. Réjant had lighted his pipe, which he kept steadily alive. He was to stand by, and as soon as his accomplice, who was posted on the Place du Carrousel, gave him the signal of the approach of the Consul, he was to light the fuse. They had figured that six or seven seconds would elapse before the explosion. They had to wait fully an hour before the arrival of Bonaparte, who on that evening was to go to the Opéra for the first night of Haydn's "Saul." As further precaution St. Réjant hailed a small girl of about fourteen years, and by giving her a few sous induced her to hold the horse for a short while. At about eight o'clock St. Réjant heard the noise of the approaching cavalcade; they were coming at full gallop, in a few seconds they would pass by him; the anxiously awaited signal was not forthcoming; he became flurried, lost his wits, and in less time than it takes to tell there was an explosion so formidable that it was heard in the extremest portions of the city and even in the surrounding country. What followed is almost beyond description. The square and adjoining streets were literally full of débris. Mangled and distorted corpses were lying in heaps on the muddy pavements; shrieks of pain and anguish were heard in almost every house; bewildered persons ran aimlessly in every direc-

tion. Of the cart, the girl, and the horse not a trace was to be seen. But the First Consul had escaped unhurt.

The explosion had come so suddenly that not one of the conspirators, despite all their precautions, had been able to escape uninjured. Limoëlan had received a slight wound below the eye, causing a scar which was visible for weeks after. St. Réjant was hurled to the ground with great violence and sustained serious internal injuries. He managed, however, to drag himself to his lodgings, Rue Trouvaires, and without uttering a word to his landlady, went upstairs copiously spitting blood and staggering. At about ten o'clock Limoëlan appeared to inquire after his friend. On hearing that he had returned he went immediately upstairs, but rushed down a few minutes later telling the astonished landlady, "He is very ill, very ill, we must fetch a confessor." To her inquiries he answered that her "monsieur" had been knocked down and run over by a wagon. With that he disappeared in the night and returned only an hour or so later with his uncle, whom he had found about to say the midnight Mass in a private dwelling. Soon after came a Dr. Colin, who, by bleeding him, succeeded in easing the patient somewhat. Two days later, St. Réjant, although still very weak, was moved to Rue d'Aguesseau to another apartment rented a month before in the house of Citizen Jourdan, a silk-stocking knitter. Meanwhile, Limoëlan had been looking for his second associate, Carbon. He found the latter at his sister's house and during a rainstorm brought the sick man to Mlle. de Cicé, who did not even ask whom she was harboring. The nephew of Rev. Father Clorivière was asking the favor—which was an order to her. Carbon was first taken care of by her; next placed in the hands of a Mme. Gouyon, and finally given in charge to Mother Duquesne, to whose convent he was taken by Mlle. de Cicé. But if friends were thus working to save, his foes were seeking to capture him.

By comparing the remains of the unfortunate horse which had drawn the infernal machine, the police had ascertained that the animal was a black one, once the property of Lambel. A visit to the latter's store revealed a description of Carbon.

Twenty policemen were sent after him, but their success was indifferent. It was only when, at the end of January, Carbon, tired of his peaceful but monotonous surroundings, left the house that he was recognized and his hiding-place discovered. On Sunday, January 18, at the very moment the unsuspecting Mother Duquesne was clapping her hands for the beginning of services (or, as the secret service thought, giving a signal of some sort to accomplices), Carbon was seized and led to prison together with all the poor women who had cared for him. Mother Duquesne and her six or seven nuns, Mlle. de Cicé, Mme. Gouyon de Beaufort and her two daughters, Limoëlan's mother and sisters were all imprisoned; next came Dr. Colin and all those with whom Carbon had been at all connected in Paris; and finally, ten days later, he was rejoined by St. Réjant, who, harrassed and conscience-ridden, had been caught in the streets, where he had been straying for many days, mortally afraid of entering any lodging. On the first of April both Carbon and St. Réjant were condemned to death.

Of Limoëlan, however, nobody knew anything; he seemed to have completely vanished. Despite the rewards offered by Fouché; despite the great number of secret-service hounds on his trail; despite the promise which in some manner reached him of immunity from all punishment if he would appear at the Minister's office, and which in the same mysterious manner he answered in the negative—despite all this Limoëlan could not be found. Fouché, however, would not be baffled. Among the prisoners confined in the "Temple" was Mlle. de Cicé. In her apartment the police had found a small pile of louis wrapped in a piece of paper and bearing the inscription: "Argent de ces messieurs." Whose money was this? Who were these "messieurs"? Fouché's curiosity and expectation were roused to the seething point. He believed that at last he had found the channel through which he could obtain the necessary information. His most clever subordinates, Limodin, Réal, Desmarets, and Pasques, were assigned to the case. They tried every means of persuasion, every artifice, bribery, flattery, threats, but all in vain. Mlle. de Cicé remained firm in her

resolve to maintain silence. At length the secret service, outwitted at their own game, declared that Limoëlan had taken his own life. To support this assertion they brought forth the testimony of a certain Charles attached to a bath establishment called "Bains Vigier." This man declared that on the night of the explosion he had heard the noise of a heavy object, as of a human body, falling into the river at the Pont Royal; that he had rowed out immediately and had searched the waters around the bridge for some time, but could find nothing. Meanwhile Limoëlan was in hiding in the abandoned crypts of the Church of St. Lawrence, where his uncle had taken him. There he remained until the latter part of April, and then escaped to Brittany. In his native province he obtained shelter at his paternal castle, now the property of his brother-in-law, Monsieur de Chappedelaine. But he could never be secure on French soil as long as Bonaparte was in power. Even when he was meditating an escape to America the hounds of the law were at his heels. They searched the whole castle, examined every nook and cranny. Again a simple ruse fooled them; Mme. de Chappedelaine, a newly wed bride, insisted that her room be exempt from search. Her brother was hidden therein.

It then happened that the newly wedded couple must go to America, there to claim the heritage of a rich uncle lately deceased, and it was in their company that Limoëlan bade farewell to his native Brittany, which he was never to see again. His arrival in New York, under the assumed name of Guitry, has already been recounted, and in the tragic circumstances which have just been related we have found the explanation of his restless, wandering life in the east and south of the United States and finally of his entrance into the seminary of St. Mary. Ever since the eventful night of the 3 Nivôse Limoëlan had been haunted by the memory of that tragic scene and the voice of his conscience had bitterly reproached him for his share in the drama, although, as was brought out at the trial, he did not actually give the signal for the lighting of the fuse.

While he was still in Brittany he learned that his fiancée, who had remained at Versailles and to whom he was deeply

attached, had vowed to enter the convent if he escaped the guillotine. She took the veil a short time before he left St. Malo. This cruel disappointment in love confirmed him in his resolution to shun forever all political activity, and by a life of penance, prayer, and mortification to try to atone in some measure for the wrong he had done. His letters to his sister, Mme. de Chappedelaine, show plainly the change which had taken place in him. "All my past opinions," he says in one of these letters, "seem to me now of very little value and never have I regretted so much the loss of my time as at present." And in another: "I will comply with the wishes of my uncle. . . . How long have I tarried to show my gratitude for an almost miraculous preservation! You know what I mean." Then alluding to the young lady whom he had loved and who expiated in a Carmelite Convent the crime he had committed: "The angel who was the instrument of my conversion has shown me the way I had to follow; and to justify myself for not having done so earlier I can only say that I did not believe myself worthy of that grace." All his letters did not reach their destination. English cruisers intercepted couriers from America whenever they met them; knowing this and being desirous of acquainting his family of his whereabouts he wrote on the back of an envelope addressed to his sister: "Oh Englishmen, let this letter pass; it is from a man who has done and suffered much for your cause!!!" This letter reached France only to increase the evidence against him at police headquarters. This was in the year 1807. In Lent of the same year he received the tonsure. Plodding through five weary years, trying to master studies forsaken some fifteen years before and never taken up again since, his efforts were at length crowned with success; in 1812 he was ordained by Archbishop Carroll, and was appointed to the parish of Charleston.

Charleston was then and for fifty years to come a center of unrest, discontent, and rebellion, and withal, a strongly Protestant city. It was, therefore, with no good will that the greater part of the population received into their midst a priest who was confessedly attached to the Bourbons and of doubtful ante-

cedents. And here we might mention the fact that none in the United States, with the exception of Father Clorivière's superiors and Monsignor Bruté, whose acquaintance he had made on the latter's arrival at the seminary, knew his real name. The authorities at the seminary had doubtless been informed by the Abbé Clorivière's uncle of his moral condition, and through the efforts of these sympathetic compatriots the matter had been hushed and his conversion vigorously advanced. Monsignor Bruté was, like Limoëlan, a Breton and had been accidentally brought in contact with some of the actors in the tragedy (he had been a medical student with Colin and had released the latter from his incarceration). He was, therefore, inclined to help his countryman and he remained his friend until Father Clorivière's death.

The latter's pastoral experience at Charleston was not a very pleasant one. Shortly after he arrived there he was expelled from his church and presbytery by two priests, Fathers Gallagher and Browne, with the connivance of the trustees, who did not relish the idea of having a French pastor. Gallagher, who had been his predecessor, had recently, for misconduct, been removed by Archbishop Carroll. Browne, however, was the real fomentor of discord. This man left his own parish and joined Gallagher, and at his instigation Father Clorivière was compelled to leave his post. However, he remained at Charleston, and through the activities of certain devoted Catholics was enabled to continue his sacerdotal duties in a poorer church, it is true, but with much better results than his rivals. For whereas hardly one out of ten of Gallagher and Browne's followers approached the sacraments, the great majority of Father Clorivière's flock performed their Easter duty. However, the situation was almost unbearable, and it reached a crisis when Browne, disregarding the summons of Archbishop Maréchal (who had succeeded Archbishop Carroll), went to Rome and laid a mass of "false and garbled statements" before the Propaganda. Cardinal Litta ordered the removal of the French priest and the restoration of the "lawful incumbents." However, on the presentation of matters in their true light by Archbishop

Maréchal, the Propaganda revoked its decree and Gallagher submitted. Browne, however, disregarded all his bishop's mandates and remained at Charleston, a wolf in the fold. Circumstances soon made the removal of Father Clorivière advisable on grounds of expediency. For when, after he had moved from his old parish in Dalzell Street to take up new quarters, ill-luck pursued him. His sermons were hooted and the offering of the Holy Sacrifice was almost an impossibility amidst the talking and jeering which assailed his ears on every side. His activity was thus restricted to teaching Sunday-school. While affairs were in this condition the news reached him that the Bourbons had been restored and Napoleon sent to Elba. In the first transport of joy he rushed like a madman through the streets shouting: "Long live the King! Long live the Bourbons!" He barely escaped being shot and his recall followed immediately. Father Clorivière was totally disheartened and his superiors at length granted his ardent prayers to visit his native land. In the summer of 1814, when his baggage had been sent aboard a ship leaving for Havre and a cabin retained for him, he seemed on the point of seeing Brittany once more. But the cup of joy was dashed from his hands just as he was raising it to his lips. As he was about to sail a pious person represented to him the great need of priests and urged him to accept the post of chaplain at the Visitation Convent, Washington. In this request Father Clorivière saw the will of God and submitted to his fate with resignation. He was installed at the convent, then in its infancy, which he contributed so much to upbuild. Here he continued the work begun by Archbishop Neale, the beloved spiritual director of the Visitation Sisters. His labors in their behalf are naïvely set forth in the Visitation Annals which are full of praise and deep respect for their chaplain. His struggles and success have been duly recorded; how when the edifice was tottering on its foundations he restored it; how with his own resources the chapel of the Sacred Heart was erected and how he adorned it with memorials and ex-votos sent by distinguished friends from France, among them Louis XVIII and Charles X. It was also through his efforts

that the Sisters' school, the first free school in the District of Columbia, was opened. The memory of his good deeds, amidst the quiet surroundings of his last years, his piety, his charity, his martyr-like resignation and constancy have almost effaced his sad notoriety. It is also related that every year throughout the night of the 24th of December he would remain prostrate in adoration before the altar in the chapel of the Sacred Heart. Little did the good Sisters dream of the terrible visions which Christmas Eve conjured before the eyes of their chaplain—mangled bodies scattered over a Paris square, a little girl blown to pieces, friends ascending to the guillotine. . . .

On May 6, 1826, after saying his morning Mass, he was seized with a stroke of paralysis. He was hastily led away, laid in his bed and in a few hours a number of doctors and priests were on the spot, ministering to the needs of the stricken man. He lingered through the whole summer, and it was only on the 29th of September that death mercifully ended his sufferings. On that day and the night before he was attended constantly by Monsignor Bruté. At last, after directing that his body be laid in the crypt of the chapel which his devotion had erected to the Sacred Heart, and requesting that the office of the dead be said over his tomb, Joseph Picot Limoëlan de la Clorivière, amid the exhortations and prayers of his friends, gave up his soul to its Maker at the age of fifty-eight.

Among the many sources from which he had to draw in the preparation of this article the writer is especially indebted to the following: Lenôtre, *Vielles maisons, vieux papiers*; Thiers, *Histoire due Consulat et de l'Empire*; J. G. Shea, "History of the Catholic Church in the United States."

THE REVEREND LAWRENCE GRAESSEL

BY HENRY F. HERBERMANN, LL.B.

THE man who modestly pursues his duty with tireless and unflagging zeal and seeks not the applause of the multitude, who strives to do good to others without ostentatiously exploiting his merits, not infrequently lives in the memory of future generations; for his death stirs deeply the many who have been the objects of his benefactions. They rise up spontaneously to testify to the numerous benefits which they have received at the hands of the departed; their gratitude arouses them to extol his heroism and to acclaim his sanctity. And so by the spoken word and by the written the precious heirloom of the hero's inspiring example is transmitted to posterity.

The subject of this sketch is the exception that proves the rule. The meagerness of the information that we possess about his life should not lead us to the erroneous deduction that he was not a heroic character. On the contrary, what little knowledge we have been able to glean from the sources available must force upon us the conviction that he was a man whose life if known in all its full detail would be an inspiration and a model to future generations. Even the few facts at our disposal are well worth our careful study. The unfortunate circumstances which prevailed in Philadelphia at the time of his death—the terrible plague to which he fell a victim and which carried off so many of the objects of his devoted ministry, and the general demoralization which followed in the wake of this awful scourge—are responsible for the meager knowledge we have of the saintly and heroic Father Graessel.

It was in the little village of Ruemannsfelden, in Bavaria, Germany, that Lawrence Graessel first saw the light of day on the 18th of August, 1753. Of his father we know nothing more than that he was a hard-working and prosperous leather merchant. The very affectionate tone of Lawrence's letters shows that the good man fostered a very great family spirit

and that the love he showed to his children begot the great love which they in return displayed toward him. The pious training of his parents and the noble example which they set him, his brothers and sisters, to which he refers so touchingly in one of the letters appended to this sketch, naturally led to Lawrence's resolve to devote his life to the service of God and to join the Society of Jesus. It was here that he formed a friendship with Johann Michael Sailer, the great German theologian and educator, who was later raised to the bishopric of Ratisbon, which friendship was ended only by death. Young Graessel was a novice at the time of the suppression of the Order, but his love for and attachment to the Society remained with him to the end of his life.

We next find a trace of him in the year 1786, when, as an ordained priest in Munich, he was devotedly ministering to the needs of his flock. But the spirit of Loyola's soldiers, the spirit of the missionary, was agitating him, and the opportunity which he sought to carry out his heart's desire came in the late summer of the year 1786, in the shape of an invitation from Father Ferdinand Steinmayer, better known as Father Farmer, urging him to come to America to aid in the spread of Christ's gospel. He faltered not an instant, but hastened to this country by way of London, sailing by the vessel which left the English capital on August 27, 1787, and reached America in October of that year.

On his arrival in Philadelphia he found that his friend, Father Farmer, had passed to his reward. Father Graessel, however, placed himself at the disposal of Dr. Carroll, then vicar-apostolic, who was so much impressed by the merits of the good priest that in spite of the vigorous opposition of a number of the German Catholics of Philadelphia, who suggested the selection of Father John Charles Helbron, a Capuchin, he appointed the newcomer to the supervision of the Germans of St. Mary's Church in Willings Alley. The malcontents withdrew and began to agitate the erection of a new parish exclusively for Germans. This was finally consented to by Bishop Carroll on condition that they disavow any attempt

to set up pastors without the concurrence of the ecclesiastical superiors. The new movement resulted in the erection of the Church of the Holy Trinity. But a great portion of the German parishioners remained faithful to St. Mary's, and on the 13th day of September, 1788, St. Mary's Church was duly incorporated by the Pennsylvania Legislature, Father Graessel being mentioned in the charter as one of the pastors.

Besides looking after the spiritual wants of the faithful, especially the Germans who loyally adhered to the mother church, Father Graessel was tireless in his efforts both to bring the comforts of their religion to those, already Catholics, who lived in the sparsely settled districts of New Jersey, as well as by his kind and sympathetic manner to lead the straying sheep into the true fold. He thus continued the good work begun by Fathers Schneider and Farmer.

Father Graessel, though primarily in charge of the Germans, did not confine his energies to them alone, but also took a deep interest in the non-German elements of St. Mary's Parish. He was in full sympathy with any move to advance the Catholic cause, and urged and encouraged the energetic and highly respected publisher, Matthew Carey, one of Philadelphia's leading Catholics, to undertake the publication of Catholic books. He was one of the first to support and subscribe to the publication of a quarto Catholic Bible, which Mr. Carey announced on January 26, 1789, and offered for sale early the following year.

Our next trace of Father Graessel is in the fall of the year 1791. On November 7 of that year Bishop Carroll opened the first Synod of his clergy in the episcopal residence at Baltimore. Among the many holy laborers gathered together was Father Graessel. He participated in the sessions of that council, which enacted regulations as to the proper administration of the sacraments, the observance of holy-days of obligation, the manner of life and the support of pastors, and many other important subjects. The Synod also discussed the appointment of a coadjutor to Bishop Carroll, and the unanimous opinion was voiced that it was advisable to ask Rome to appoint

an assistant to the bishop, so that in the event of the latter's sudden death there would be some one to assume charge of the diocese, thus avoiding the necessity of a long interregnum pending the appointment and consecration of a new bishop. Such a petition was incorporated in the proceedings of the Synod, and these were transmitted to Rome.

In course of time Rome responded to the petition and voiced its approval thereof. Soon thereafter, in May of the year 1793, an election was held, and the choice of the clergy fell upon Father Graessel. Considering the fact that he was not yet forty years of age and that he had been in the country not more than five years, his election to the episcopacy bears eloquent testimony to his piety and magnetic personality. His tireless, youthful energy and learning, coupled with his sanctity, forced upon his fellow-clergymen the conviction that he was the ideal candidate for the coadjutorship to Bishop Carroll, who had always been very friendly disposed toward the young German. His selection certainly shows that the bishop and his clergy were liberal-minded and not influenced by considerations of nationality. To Father Graessel, by nature and training a man of the most retiring and modest disposition, this honor was unsought for and unwelcome. But he was destined never to enjoy the distinction which his fellows had intended for him. In the summer of the year 1793 he fell ill with a malady which he contracted while on the Jersey mission, and which he described in the last letter that he wrote to his parents. But this disease was not his last. Whether he ever fully recovered from it we do not know. What we do know is that he regained his health sufficiently to show his courage and self-sacrificing spirit in the great calamity which visited Philadelphia in that year. Toward the middle of August the yellow fever appeared in that city and soon spread with lightning rapidity. The hospitals were overcrowded. Deaths were so frequent that corpses lying unburied in the streets were not uncommon sights. The city was in a state of panic. Thousands left the city to avoid the contagion, and the sick were left helpless because few were found willing to risk their lives by exposing themselves to the

infection. But Father Graessel never faltered. Night and day as long as his strength held out he was ready to aid and minister to the sick, to comfort them in their sufferings, to attend to their wants, both spiritual and temporal. Catholic or Protestant, black or white, all received the same kind treatment at his hands. Thus he continued until he himself, some time in October, 1793, fell a victim to the dread disease. The exact date of his death and the place of his burial are unknown. It is easily conceivable that in such times of awful stress, when even the publication of the newspapers was suspended, the death of Father Graessel was not noted at length. But it did not pass by entirely unnoticed, for in a book by Matthew Carey, entitled "A Short Account of the Malignant Fever Lately Prevalent in Philadelphia, with a Statement of the Proceedings that took place on the Subject in Different Parts of the United States," which went through numerous editions and was translated into several foreign languages, Father Graessel is twice mentioned. On page 60 of the fourth edition of the work, published in 1794, we find the following mention of Father Graessel: "To the clergy it has likewise proved very fatal. Exposed in the exercise of the last duties to the dying to equal danger with the physicians, it is not surprising that so many of them have fallen. Their names are, the Rev. Alexander Murray of the Protestant Episcopal Church, the Rev. F. A. Fleming and the Rev. Lawrence Graesl of the Roman Catholic, the Rev. John Winkhouse of the German Reformed, the Rev. James Sproat of the Presbyterian, the Rev. William Dougherty of the Methodist Church, and likewise four noted preachers of the Friends' Society." Again, on page 94 we find the following: "We shall long have to mourn the severe loss the city has felt in being bereft of so many valuable citizens, and had the 17,000 who retired been in the city during the prevalence of the disorder and lost as large a proportion of their number as those did who remained, we should instead of 4000 dead have lost nearly 6000, and perhaps had to deplore in the number another Clow, a Cay, a Lea, a Sims, a Dunkin, a Strawbridge, men of extensive business, whose loss will be long felt; a Pennington,

a Glentworth, a Hutchinson, a Sargeant, a Howell, a Waring, men endowed by Heaven with eminent abilities; a Fleming, a Graesl, a Sproat, men of exalted piety and virtue; a Wilson, an Adgate, a Baldwin, a Carrol, a Tompkins, an Offley, citizens of the most estimable character."

Thus died Father Graessel, as he had lived, a victim of the greatest love that a man can have—the love that willingly lays down life for a friend. Within two months after his death the Bull appointing Father Graessel to the coadjutorship of the Bishop of Baltimore arrived from Rome.

The following letters, all except the last written by Father Graessel, give a far clearer picture of the man and his simplicity, modesty, and sanctity than any eulogy that can be penned. They were all written in German and, with the exception of the one dated June 19, 1793, are all translations of copies printed in the *Pastoral-Blatt*, vol. xv, No. 5, published in St. Louis in May, 1881. The one specifically above mentioned, the last written by Father Graessel himself, is reprinted from vol. i of the "Catholic Historical Magazine" at page 68.

A postscript to a letter written by Mr. Lawrence Graessel to his parents about the year 1774:

"P.S. With regard to my dear brother, you may wait until Mr. Van Kloesterl comes to Ratisbon, for, as I am informed, he is expected to arrive there within a short time. I should not advise you to let him go to Ellwang, as the journey is long and he may have to wait several weeks before being admitted into that city, for great crowds of people are thronging thither and poor strangers are now no longer admitted into the town.

"My dearest parents, in my heart the hope is ever growing stronger that in the near future I shall again become a Jesuit. For the greatest difficulties are almost all removed. The King of France is dead and in his stead there reigns another who seems to be friendly toward the Society.

"The Pope, too, is dead, according to prediction, and what is most remarkable is that before his death he made his peace with his conscience. He left something in a tin box which was to

be opened only by his successor as Pope. And behold, four months elapsed before a new Pontiff was chosen; for our enemies always wanted a man of their own faction. But, thank God, Pius the Sixth was finally chosen, the friend of the Jesuits and the fearless champion of religion and of the whole Church. Our enemies immediately insisted that the tin box be opened, to carry out in every detail the will of the deceased Pontiff; for they were confident that the suppression of the Society of Jesus would be reaffirmed; but to their great dismay they found a Bull wherein the Pope repealed the suppression of the Order and expressed his sorrow for having suppressed it and directed the new Pontiff to reassemble the Jesuits. This the Pope really intends to do. In Augsburg many have in fact already been confirmed by the Pope himself."

Letter from Rev. Lawrence Graessel to his parents, dated Munich, August 1, 1786:

"MY DEAREST PARENTS:

MUNICH, August 1, 1786.

"I am heartily glad that you are enjoying good health and contentment. I, too, am well and intend in this very month to pay you a visit in your quiet, solitary little home. All alone shall I hasten down the River Isar. Once more shall I gossip my fill with you and satisfy my longing to look upon you, and then I shall bid you farewell forever in this life; for I am going to make a long, long journey. You can imagine where I am going. But I will be the happier to meet you again in the better world above, and we will surely meet one another; this I hope from the good Father of us all. Then shall we relate to one another the trials we have endured upon this pilgrimage and rejoice forever. Even to think of the future joys delights the heart. How glorious must the reality be. I am only too willing to sacrifice my poor comforts here if only the joys of eternal happiness will taste the sweeter there. Farewell until I will be with you. Then we will forget age and sickness and everything else and duly enjoy ourselves in one another's company.

"Unless prevented, I shall start on Monday, August 14, and arrive in Deggendorf on August 15. Once more, farewell, and pray for me. I shall remember you daily at the altar.

"Your son,

"LAWR. GRAESEL.

"P.S. My affectionate greetings to all my sisters and brothers and my best regards to my brother-in-law.

"P.S. My hearty and sincere congratulations for your patronal feast, my dearest father. May every good fortune and joy be yours both here and hereafter.

"Address

"Mr. Lawrence Graessel,

"My beloved father in

"Ruebmannsfelden."

Letter from Rev. Lawrence Graessel to his parents, dated London, August 3, 1787:

"MY DEAREST PARENTS:

"I am now beyond the sea, but still in Europe. Soon I shall leave England also, my present abode, to cross the broad ocean to America, the New World. More than eight weeks have passed since I arrived in London, where I very often think of your little home in Ruebmannsfelden, embrace you in spirit, and then heartily rejoice at the thought that you are all very well and living together peacefully in the Lord. I shall perhaps never in this world have the joy of seeing you again. God wanted me in the New World, where thousands upon thousands of our brothers are erring about without spiritual shepherds to guide them. These I will gather into His fold, and if I can give my life for them the happier shall I be. How sweet is the thought that I may be permitted to precede you into our eternal Fatherland, where upon your arrival I may embrace you with childlike glee and then enjoy your company for all eternity. I am enjoying very good health in this great city of London and am daily awaiting the departure of a vessel for the New World. Here I am in the greatest city of Europe, inhabited by a million of people. To reach the open country I often must

walk through miles of streets. If there is a fire in one part of the city, the other part learns of it only through the newspapers. There are streets in which there are ten or twelve night watchmen, who call out the hours, and they have enough to do. Here all the treasures of Asia and America seem to be gathered together. Money is too plentiful, and as a consequence everything is excessively dear. For potatoes, mutton, bread, and water from the Thames and a small room I have to pay 11 F. and this to a friend, as ordinarily I should have to pay 22 F., and in spite of this I have never felt greater hunger than here in London. When I left Munich in April I felt I was leaving the world, so hard was it for me to leave Bavaria. I journeyed by way of Augsburg to Ulm, Stuttgardt, Heidelberg, Frankfort-on-the-Main, traveling day and night in a stage-coach. From Frankfort I had traveled down the Main to Mainz. From there I sailed down the Rhine as far as Cologne. There I rested for the first time for one day, visiting the three Magi in the Cathedral. Then I traveled by way of Aix-la-Chapelle to Liège in Westphalia, where I stopped three weeks at the English College. Thence I traveled by Brussels, Ghent, Bruges to Ostend and the sea. The trip across the sea to England lasted thirty-six hours. It was just the season of Pentecost. We had thunder and lightning and terrible storms on the sea. I was sick for twenty-four hours. It is a horrible sight to see the vessel tossed on the waves, one instant high as a house and again in the depths. I feared every minute that the vessel would be wrecked the next moment. One must hold on to the bedstead to avoid being thrown out. If I arrive safe in the New World you will receive a long letter from me next year. I am going to Philadelphia, the largest city in North America. However, I hope to see my Fatherland once more and to spend several years in its service. Meanwhile, farewell. Pray for me that God may guide me safe to America. I trust entirely to the will of my Divine Father. Should I be swallowed up by the waves or be kidnapped to Africa by pirates and sold into slavery, I shall think of the Litany which we used to recite at home every week: Thy most holy will be done, O Lord. Dearest parents,

all these good principles I owe to the good training you have given me. God reward you for it in eternity. Farewell to all at home. Farewell forever.

“Your devoted son,
“LAWRENCE.

“London, England, Aug. 3, 1787.

“Address

“Mr. Lawrence Graessel,

“Leather Merchant in

“Ruebmannsfelden near Deggendorf.”

Letter from Rev. Lawrence Graessel to his parents, dated Philadelphia, December 9, 1788:

“PHILADELPHIA, Dec. 9, 1788.

“DEAREST PARENTS:

“I have been living in America for over one year and am enjoying good health. I should be heartily pleased if I could hear that you, too, are well and happy. I left London August 27, 1787, and arrived in America in October. My voyage across the great ocean often was quite perilous. God has, despite all the storms and African pirates, brought me well and happy to my destination. In America, to reach Philadelphia I was forced to travel across three States partly by water, partly on horseback through lonely forests. Here I have ample work to do in the Lord’s vineyard, and this is my great comfort, now that I am far away from my dear parents and friends. I travel about much in the American forests, to gather in my scattered flock. The languages which I learned in Europe are now of great service to me. I have already heard many confessions in German, English, French, Celtic, Dutch, and Spanish. My health, thank God, is better than in the last years when I was in Munich. Last January, 1788, I was successfully vaccinated to make myself more serviceable for the mission, and I have since visited many children suffering from disease, and without the slightest danger.

“If you should desire to write to me—and it would give me

great joy—address the letter to Munich in the care of Mr. Stocker, and I will surely receive it. Should it be the will of God that I should die in America, so that I shall not see you again in this life, then we shall comfort ourselves with the sweet hope that our separation here on earth is not of long duration, and that our good Father in heaven will bring us together, and then forever. If we but lift our eyes to heaven, then all our suffering on this earthly pilgrimage will be borne with ease. Farewell, my dearest parents, brothers and sisters and friends. Remember me in your prayers. I, too, will pray for you daily.

“Your devoted son,

“LAWRENCE.”

Letter from Father Graessel to Mr. Lawrence Graessel, Leather Merchant at Ruemannsfelden in Bavaria, dated Philadelphia, June 19, 1793:

“PHILADELPHIA, June 19, 1793.

“DEAREST FATHER, MOTHER, SISTERS, POOR BROTHER BERNARD, WHOMSOEVER OF YOU ARE STILL LIVING, A THOUSAND GREETINGS:

“Very often have I thought of you, my dearest relatives, when I wandered through the endless, silent forests of America. When I, like the voice of one calling in the desert, preached the Gospel to the faithful scattered through the woods and hungering after the Divine Word, I often thought of my dear, wooded Ruemannsfelden, where I spent my early youth, where my best friends think of me and pray for me. Often I wish I were home to see you all once more in this life, but wishes did not suffice to bring me back across the broad ocean into your arms. Even more: thanks be to God, my wishes never opposed the will of God. Now, it was the will of our Heavenly Father that I should sacrifice my short life on earth for the welfare of the Catholics in America. He was satisfied with this slight sacrifice, with my good-will (intentions), and will soon take me from this laborious earthly exile to eternal rest, to Himself, so I humbly hope for His mercy. Dearest friends,

I am ill, and in all human probability, my days on earth will be few—possibly before you read this my body will rest in the silent grave. But let us all console ourselves with the glorious expectations of eternity; there, I hope to God, we will all see each other again, and will never be parted.

“My sickness I contracted on my last mission through the sandy roads of Nova Cæsarea (New Jersey), on a hot summer’s day. Pains in the chest, shortness of breath, a dry cough, a fever that returns every evening, exhausting night sweats—these are the symptoms of the sickness, howsoever you choose to call it. The best is, I die willingly, death never had any terrors for me; it is the sweetest consolation for a suffering Christian on earth, and who on earth does not suffer? It is the beginning of a better life in a world where we shall live forever, if we endeavor to place no obstacles to a friendly visit from death by our sins. Do not expect from me long descriptions of our city, land, nation, etc.—you know, the world fades from the eyes of the dying. My only business now is to suffer patiently and die happily. Formerly I had many true friends in quiet, hermit-like Gotteszell—present them all with my last hearty adieux. If the pious, to me ever venerable, prelate, who has grown gray in holy solitude, still lives, tell him that I was grateful to him for his friendship to the end of my life; tell him he has reason to congratulate me on my death, for he knows from personal experience how heavy is the prelate’s miter, how burdensome the bishop’s crozier. From this dreadful load, friendly death delivers me.

“This seems mysterious to you; I must explain it to you. We have but a single bishop in the great extensive States of America; should he die, another chosen by the clergy must go to Europe to receive his consecration—therefore the Pope permits a coadjutor bishop to be chosen, who was one day to succeed our worthy bishop. The election was held at the beginning of May, and the choice, my dear parents, fell upon your poor Lawrence. I was to be a bishop even in this life. Nothing could disquiet me more than this news, but God heard my prayers, He will liberate me, unworthy as I am, from this

heavy burden, to make room for one who is more deserving. Whilst my name, that of my birthplace, etc., is on the way to Rome, to receive the Pope's approval, I shall leave the world, to rest forever from the sufferings of my short, earthly pilgrimage. See, that is another reason why death is so sweet, so welcome to me. I should have been ready to accept the heavy burden of an American bishop, but I should always tremble on account of the great responsibility and my slight talents—a weak light, that might, perhaps, illuminate a dark cell; if it is placed on the high altar of a grand, magnificent minster, what will be the result? No further explanation is necessary. Now farewell forever, all ye friends of my heart. Pray for me that God may strengthen me in my last struggle. I always pray for you. True unto death, and sincerely affectionate, I am

“Your

“LAWRENCE.”

Letter from the Rev. Ignaz Pummerer dated Munich, March 12, 1794.

“MOST RESPECTED SIR:

“Not six months have passed since I received from my best friend, the revered Mr. Graessel in Philadelphia, the joyful tidings of his elevation to the episcopacy, and since I delivered an enclosed letter addressed to his dear parents to Rev. Pastor Father Welffinger for safe transmission to them. Who would have thought that I would so soon become the messenger of sorrow, announcing the death of this worthy man, my friend ever to be remembered? In fact, this sad news arrived here two weeks ago from Liège from Rev. Pastor Ungerer, the confessor of Her Highness the Dowager Princess. I enclose a copy for Your Reverence just as I received it.

“The circumstance that the exact day of his death is not known encourages some hope that the news is premature. But I fear the worst, and if our fears are correct, then our letters, which left here last November by way of Hamburg, arrived too late. I am on the point of writing for reliable information,

and in case the good God has really summoned him away, to obtain a death certificate. As soon as I learn the truth I will immediately send further information to Your Reverence. Meanwhile I send my cordial greetings and have the honor to remain

“Your Reverence’s

“Obedient servant,

“IGNAZ PUMMERER.

“Munich, March 12, 1794.”

From the writings of the Rev. Father Henry Kemper.

“LIEGE, February 18.

“I beg to inform Your Reverence and all the reverend fathers of the province of Bavaria of the glorious death of Rev. Father Graessel, who died a victim to Charity in Philadelphia, North America. Toward the end of last year a plague visited the city. On account of the extraordinary gifts of nature and grace possessed by this man he was chosen coadjutor to the bishop of Baltimore, with the right of succession. Meanwhile he was carrying on his missionary labors at Philadelphia with tireless energy at the time when this horrible plague (the yellow fever) was raging. All the old ministers of various sects fled from the threatening danger. Father Graessel alone with one associate, an Irish Dominican, remained, to the comfort of all, who thus learned clearly to distinguish between the true shepherds and the hirelings. Days and nights without interruption, they spent ministering to the sick, irrespective of creed or belief, until at length both of them, weakened by their labors, died victims to duty and charity.

“The date of his glorious death is unknown.”

JOSEPH SADOC ALEMANY, O.P., ARCHBISHOP OF SAN FRANCISCO

BY GAYNOR MADDOX

THE steamer *Columbus* was scheduled to arrive in San Francisco on December 11, 1850. She entered the Golden Gate late in the afternoon and ran alongside the city wharf as the sun was disappearing below the broad rim of the Pacific Ocean. The boat was made fast, the gang-plank was lowered and the travelers disembarked.

After most of the travelers had disappeared in the curious crowd that had come down to meet the *Columbus*, and the wharf had gradually cleared, a dark little man in clerical clothes asked a small boy the way to St. Francis' Church. The boy, a young Irishman, perceiving that the stranger was a priest, conducted him to a little frame building, sadly in need of paint, which was St. Francis' Church.

As the little clergyman, carrying his head proudly erect, followed his guide along the roads, he surveyed this new field for his labors. Cabins and saloons, a few women, burly men, and some dark-eyed señoritas, an air of restlessness and a spirit of gaiety, such was his first conception of San Francisco. For a moment he lowered his head and the boy heard him whisper "*Domine, non sum dignus.*"

This humble arrival, this meek little man, was Joseph Sadoc Alemany of the Dominican Order.

He first opened his eyes upon the Spanish sunshine in 1814, in the little town of Vich, which is about one hundred miles from Barcelona. Born in the province of Catalonia, he carried with him throughout his entire life the natural inborn pride of a Catalanian.

Of his boyhood there is little account. In the annals of the Dominican convent at Tremp, Spain, it is written that Joseph Sadoc Alemany entered the Order in 1829. Then fif-

teen years old, we leave him in the convents of Tremp and Gerona until he was ordained in his twenty-third year at Viterbo, Italy.

Queen Christina had exiled the Religious Orders from Spanish territory, and Alemany had been sent to Italy to complete his priestly training in a freer land. With him there went to Viterbo a friend and fellow-Dominican, Father Vilarassa, who ever after remained a staunch friend to the young priest.

After his ordination Father Alemany remained in Viterbo a year as assistant master of novices. By this time the zeal of a missionary was apparent in him, and he applied for a post in the Philippine Islands. His superiors, however, were not yet ready to test his fervor in a foreign land, and Alemany then learned, if he had not learned it before, that because a desire is good it is not necessarily granted.

Later on he was rewarded for his interest in his work by being appointed assistant pastor of the Church of Minerva in Rome. But to a man of his retiring nature, who desired the life of a missionary as earnestly as he did, the life of the great world-center was not in the least appealing. He continually applied for work abroad, but until 1841 he was retained at Rome.

To his delight, in 1841 he was sent to the United States, and from then until 1850 his work was of the desired nature. It was during these years that he made the acquaintance of two very influential Americans, President Jackson and Bishop Hughes of New York.

After he had traveled through Kentucky and Tennessee for five or six years he was made provincial of the eastern province of the United States. He was then the foremost Dominican in this country, and the glance of Rome had noticed him. He continued with his work in Ohio and Kentucky and Tennessee, gaining the experience that was soon to be so necessary to him. While working for them, he learned to know and understand Americans, and his appreciation of the American Constitution gained him genuine favor.

He was now a prominent foreigner in a growing country and

honors were preparing for him at home. He had advanced very rapidly, yet his zeal had not abated in the least.

As a General Chapter of the Dominican Order was to convene at Rome in 1850, Alemany, being the provincial of Ohio, was obliged to attend. His name was fairly well known in Rome by this time, and the young missionary was welcomed back to Italy as a successful religious apostle.

A year previous to this time gold had been discovered in California. The news of the great discovery had drawn thousands to the western coast of the United States, and among those thousands were many Catholics. Bishop Diego of Monterey, a Mexican priest of the Order of Franciscans, had died in 1848, and the coast was now alive with gold-seekers who had no religious restraints upon their lives. The two Catholic priests who had come down from Oregon had written of the great and immediate need of assistance, and Pope Pius IX decided to send a bishop to the vacant see of Monterey.

The position was a difficult one to fill. The majority of the Catholics were Irish, although the Portuguese and French had arrived in San Francisco in great numbers. There were also American Catholics at the gold fields who were naturally opposed to Mexican rule of any sort, and this fact eliminated any of the native Mexican clergy. The men of the country were brave, rough, and gold-mad and little inclined to the voice of religion. Patience, courage in the face of despair, example and affection, a true missionary desire, and a thorough knowledge of the people, were the qualities needed to insure any kind of success. Rome was perplexed. The diocese was a growing and promising one and could be trusted only to capable hands.

A certain American priest who was then in Rome was appointed to the position, but he refused to accept what he considered an impossible task. The Vatican was obliged to seek further, with the result that Joseph Sadoc Alemany was consecrated Bishop of Monterey in California.

Immediately he started for San Francisco, because it was "the wish of Rome." On his way he stopped in France, where he was presented with chalices and ciboriums for his mission

churches. From France he went to Ireland in an effort to obtain some Irish priests to aid him in California, but the prospect seemed too uncertain of results, and they declined to accompany him. Disappointed, he continued to New York, and from there went to Panama. After crossing the Isthmus on muleback, he took the steamer *Columbus* and sailed for San Francisco.

After "a long journey through inhospitable countries, a sea voyage through unfriendly, boisterous, and incessantly threatening waves" he arrived in California and presented himself to Father Langlois of St. Francis' Church, who was then the vicar of the little mining city.

The vicar, who had not been informed of his appointment, demanded Bishop Alemany's credentials. The impression of the inhospitable reception which Father Langlois' suspicions caused was entirely obliterated by an official reception tendered to him by the Catholics of the small city. When he left San Francisco for Monterey two days after this, he took with him \$1,350, which his friends had presented to him as a token of welcome.

In 1884, after thirty-four years of faithful service in California, Joseph Sadoc Alemany was permitted to lay aside the "heavy miter." He was at last freed from an uncongenial task which he had faithfully fulfilled despite its distastefulness to him. He was still meek, still gentle, but now white haired instead of black, now stooped instead of straight.

He returned to his native land, to his beloved Spain that had once exiled him, and he vainly endeavored to found there a seminary that would supply young priests for the missions in the United States.

He passed away in 1888, and as the vision of his heavenly reward (surely he deserved reward) opened up before him, the spirit of this Catalonian priest was still "*Domine non sum dignus.*"

When Bishop Alemany arrived on the Pacific Coast the condition of the Church was apparently hopeless. Mexican greed had ruined all the Franciscan missions and Mexican govern-

ment had robbed the Church of its Pious Fund. On the other hand, the gold fever had cast a sordid charm about the men of the land and rendered them indifferent to the call of religion.

In San Francisco there was much sickness, as there was no sanitation, and there was lawlessness, as there was no one to govern. It was the duty of the Church to care for the sick and to teach men to control their passions. In all California there were but a few priests and a smaller number of churches. In 1851 cholera broke out in San Francisco, and when the scourge had passed away, it left in its wake many orphans for the Church to protect. The maximum of responsibility with the minimum of resources.

In 1853 Bishop Alemany was made Archbishop of San Francisco. His episcopal see extended from Monterey to Oregon and from the Pacific Ocean to the Great Divide, a territory much larger than entire France.

Thirty-three years later, when the archbishop journeyed to Ogden, Utah, to meet Bishop Riordan, who had been appointed his auxiliary bishop, he showed to his arriving assistant a far different diocese from the impoverished one that greeted his eyes on the night of December 11, 1850. San Francisco now possessed a splendid cathedral, numerous modern stone churches, Catholic schools and orphan asylums and hospitals, and strong, well-organized parishes. Several Religious Orders both of men and women had settled in the city, a seminary was established, the diocese was prosperous in numbers and in results. In a word, the Catholic population of San Francisco was large and the Church was in a condition of orderly strength.

From the discouraging, chaotic condition in which he found it, to the successful plane on which Bishop Riordan first saw the Church in the city of the Golden Gate, was a long, steep climb.

As the young assistant marked the weariness that was discernible in the old archbishop's eyes, and the stoop of his shoulders and the whiteness of his hair, he must have realized that here in this little Spanish priest lay the genius of the whole affair. It was this mild Dominican who had come to San Fran-

cisco to "fight the battles of Christ against Antichrist and his forerunners," and in doing so he had welded a heterogeneous mass of gold-mad or indifferent souls into a unified (in Faith at least) and conscientious portion of human society.

REGISTER OF THE CLERGY LABORING IN THE ARCHDIOCESE OF NEW YORK FROM EARLY MISSIONARY TIMES TO 1885.

BY THE MOST REV. MICHAEL AUGUSTINE CORRIGAN, D.D.

O'HARE, REV. HUGH S.

Father O'Hare, born in New York City, December, 1835 or 1836, was ordained by Archbishop McCloskey, July 26, 1865. From that year till 1867 he was assistant at St. Columba's, having succeeded Dr. Neligan. As pastor of the church at Goshen and its outlying missions, from October, 1867 till 1875, he enlarged the church, built the school, purchased a site for a new church and residence, and bought the Methodist Church edifice at Warwick. He was succeeded by Rev. J. Keogan. From December, 1875, to June, 1876, he was pastor at Wappinger's Falls and Beekmans; from June, 1877, to September, 1878, pastor of the new parish of St. Mary's, Port Richmond; in the latter year pastor at Granite Village. After this he retired from the diocese and is said to have died in a Western hospital.

HASSAN, REV. JAMES.

Father Hassan, born in Ireland, 1821, was assistant at St. Lawrence's, Yorkville, 1865-66, and at Verplanck's Point 1866 to August, 1868. He then served at the Transfiguration with Father Treanor, and upon the death of the latter became pastor in November, 1870, remaining till June, 1871. During this incumbency he celebrated the blessing of the church bell. He was pastor at St. Augustine's, Sing Sing, from 1871 to 1880, and on May 28 of the latter year died in Brooklyn.

GUICHETEAU, REV. FRANCIS.

Father Guicheteau was born in Treize-Septier in the Vendée in 1805. After finishing his studies in the *petit séminaire* and the seminary of Luçon he was ordained and served as parish

priest in the diocese of Luçon for well-nigh thirty years. Having been called as a witness at a murder trial, when one of his parishioners was charged with the crime, he testified to his innocence, which he knew from the confession of the culprit in the sacrament of Penance. The judge thereupon tried to force him to give the name of the guilty man, which Father Guicheteau, of course, could not do. He was punished for contempt of court, the penalty being two years in prison. On his release he came to New York, in 1861, and was appointed chaplain to the Christian Brothers in their Second Street Academy, where he remained till 1878. He then returned to his birthplace, where he lived in retirement, and died in 1886, at the age of eighty-one.

KAREL, REV. FRANCIS.

Father Karel, a native of Bohemia, was ordained by Archbishop Baron Schrenk, August 1, 1847, in the diocese of Prague. At the same time and place the priesthood was conferred upon Rev. Augustine Lang, afterward rector of the Bohemian Church of SS. Cyril and Methodius in this city, deceased December, 1886. Father Karel, a very learned man was pastor of the new parish of St. Joseph's for Germans, Manhattanville, October 21, 1860, to June 20, 1864; pastor at Melrose 1866-72, and finally chaplain to the Sisters of St. Francis, at Peekskill. He departed this life at St. Joseph's Hospital, Yonkers, September 21, 1891, and his obsequies were held at the chapel of the Franciscan Convent, Peekskill, the scene of his labors during the last years of his ministry.

O'REILLY, REV. ANDREW.

Father O'Reilly, born October 14, 1838, in Rothkenny County, Meath, became a student at St. Francis Xavier's College, and graduated there in 1861. Upon the completion of his higher studies at the seminary of Our Lady of the Angels, Niagara Falls, he was ordained December 21, 1863. In 1864 he was assistant to Rev. E. J. O'Reilly at Newburgh.

From 1866 to 1874 he was pastor of Middletown and its missions. He bought the present church property of eleven acres, built the frame church which preceded the present brick building, and built the chapel at Belleville. In 1875 he was transferred, as assistant, to St. Mary's, Yonkers, and was associated with that parish until his death, September 10, 1904, in St. Joseph's Hospital. At the funeral services in St. Mary's, Rev. C. R. Corley was celebrant, Rev. T. J. Healy deacon, and Rev. Patrick Martin subdeacon. Monsignor McGean preached the sermon, and Archbishop Farley gave the absolution. Interment was at Holy Name Cemetery, Jersey City.

BRADY, REV. PATRICK.

Father Brady made his first studies at the Bishop's Academy, Kilmore, County Cavan. In 1850 he entered the Jesuit College at Spring Hill, Mobile, Ala., where he spent one year in the study of the classics and four years in philosophy and theology, receiving the degrees B.A. and A.M. From Spring Hill he went to Carondelet Seminary, where he spent a few months preparatory to ordination as deacon. Archbishop Feehan and Bishops Hennessy and Cosgrove were his contemporaries at Carondelet. He was ordained priest by Archbishop Kenrick in the cathedral, St. Louis, September 8, 1856. In 1863-64 he was assistant at St. Bridget's, New York City. In 1864 he became pastor at Rosendale, with its large outlying territory, which included Modena, Milton, Galeville, and Ireland Corners. In 1874 he was succeeded there by Rev. Martin A. O'Flaherty, and transferred to Montgomery, where he remained as pastor till 1894. On August 13 of that year he died at St. Joseph's Hospital, Paterson.

Father Brady had a fine library, which he left, with many paintings, to the archbishop, and which are now in the seminary at Dunwoodie.

MCDONALD, REV. JOHN.

Father McDonald, born in Ireland, baptized January 18, 1841, was ordained July 26, 1865, by Archbishop McCloskey.

GILLICK, REV. BERNARD.

Father Gillick, who was ordained by Bishop McNeirny, December 3, 1873, departed this life in Ireland, January 28, 1875.

MEREDITH, REV. CHARLES A.

Father Meredith, born in Brooklyn, December 10, 1855, was ordained at Troy by the archbishop coadjutor, June 11, 1881. He was assistant at St. Michael's, and at the Holy Rosary. In June, 1893, he became first rector at the Most Precious Blood, Walden; in January, 1895, rector of Montgomery and Walden, on the death of Father Brady; in 1898, rector of St. Stephen's, Warwick; November 11, 1899, rector at St. Rose of Lima, Suffern. He died May 21, 1904, in St. Joseph's Hospital, E. 143d St. The solemn Requiem Mass at the Holy Rosary, May 24, was celebrated by Rev. William F. Dougherty, assisted by Rev. M. J. McEvoy and Rev. E. O. Sullivan. The sermon was delivered by Rev. John J. Wynne, S.J. Interment was made at Calvary Cemetery.

ROELANTS, REV. CHARLES, D. D.

The Rev. Dr. Roelants, born in Ghent, August 2, 1826, made his studies in Termonde with the Congregation of the Blessed Virgin Mary, was ordained September 18, 1852, went to Louvain 1857, and received the degree of S.T.B. in 1859. He taught in the various colleges of the Congregation until its dissolution, in 1861. At the opening of the Provincial Seminary, Troy, in 1864, he was appointed professor of Sacred Scripture. He returned to Belgium in 1890, becoming Honorary Canon of Ghent, September 17 of that year, and Titular Canon November 30, 1898. He departed this life January 15, 1901, in Ghent.

McKENNA, REV. MICHAEL.

Father McKenna, born in 1820 at Greencastle, Donegal, studied at Maynooth, and was ordained June 6, 1846, by Dr. McGill, Bishop of Derry. Coming to the United States in 1859, he assisted at St. Peter's, 1862-64, and at St. Mary's.

He was the first pastor at St. Rose of Lima's, beginning his labors there February 3, 1868, built the church at a cost of \$85,000, saw it dedicated by Archbishop McCloskey, in April, 1871, and departed this life June 4, 1875.

DONNELLY, REV. JOHN.

Father Donnelly was assistant at St. Mary's Church, Grand Street, 1865-66.

PARSONS, REV. REUBEN S., D.D.

Father Parsons, born in Paterson, January 18, 1841, passed through the public schools and was for a time a student in the College of the City of New York, then called the Free Academy. Becoming a Catholic, he went to Rome for his theological studies at the Propaganda and at the American College. After his ordination, June 10, 1865, and until 1869, he was assistant to Father Thomas Farrell, at St. Joseph's. From June, 1869, to March, 1870, he was at Rondout; in 1870, assistant at Middletown; 1881 at Spring Valley, with residence at Piermont; from 1882 to 1888 at Rosendale, with Father Gleason. He was at St. Joseph's Hospital, Yonkers, for many years, and died there Good Friday, April 13, 1906.

Father Parsons wrote "Studies in Church History," in 6 volumes; "Some Lies and Errors of History," and other historical works.

See "Freeman's Journal," June 9, 1906.

PUISSANT, REV. PIERRE, D.D.

Pierre Augustin Puissant, born in Renaix, Belgium, October 7, 1831, made his preparatory studies at St. Nicholas, and ecclesiastical studies at Ghent and Louvain. He was ordained priest April 7, 1855, graduated as S.T.B. in 1856, was assistant at Denderwindeke, and was professor at Grammont and at Termonde. In 1864 he became professor of philosophy at Troy Seminary, in 1865 professor of moral theology, and in 1873 treasurer. In 1868 he founded a German parish in Troy. On the elevation of Rt. Rev. Dr. Gabriels to the see of Ogdens-

burg, January, 1892, Dr. Puissant became president of the seminary, and held that office till June, 1896, when the seminary was closed. He visited his native place in August, and in November was assigned to the Immaculate Conception Church, in East Fourteenth Street. He also held the office of Defensor Vinculi. Returning to Belgium, he became, on February 7, 1901, Titular Canon of the Cathedral of St. Bavon, in Ghent. He died there January 24, 1911, and was interred in the cemetery of Mervelbeke.

GOESSER, REV. FATHER.

Father Goesser was assistant at St. Vincent's in 1867.

PROFILLET, REV. C., S.P.M.

Father Profillet was assistant at St. Vincent's in 1866.

POSZPISILIK, REV. THEOPHILUS, O.S.F.

Father Poszpisilik, born July 24, 1829, and ordained priest September 10, 1855, was assistant to Father Andrew Pfeiffer, at St. Francis', Thirty-first Street, from 1865 to 1868, when he became pastor, with Father Andrew as assistant. Later he was president of St. Bonaventure's College, Allegheny, and in 1883 provincial of his Order.

REV. TIMOTHY ENRIGHT, C.SS.R.

Father Enright was born in Ireland, in the parish of Drumcollogher, diocese of Limerick, on November 8, 1837. His parents migrated to America when Timothy was a boy, and settled in the fourth district of New Orleans. Here young Enright frequented St. Alphonsus' School, and thus became acquainted with the Redemptorist Fathers. Exhibiting genuine piety and extraordinary talent with a strong desire to serve God as a priest at the altar, he availed himself of the opportunity to take lessons in Latin under the same Fathers. In the meantime his vocation developed and he begged the superior of the Redemptorist Fathers to admit him into their Congregation. The provincial, Very Rev. Father Ruland, admit-

ted him as novice. In the summer of 1856 he left home and went to Annapolis, Md., where the house of the novitiate was then located. Rev. Father Leimgruber was his novice-master. On July 20 of the same year he took the habit of the Congregation. During his probation he was a model to all his companions. The following year, on July 20, he pronounced his religious vows, after which he resumed his classical studies in Cumberland, Md. After their completion he passed to the higher studies of philosophy and theology. As student he manifested a singular clearness of mind which was admired both by his fellow-students and superiors. The study of languages engaged most of his free time and he became an expert linguist. He was not only an excellent English scholar, but also spoke German, French, Spanish, and Gaelic with fluency. He was likewise acquainted with a number of Slavic languages, like Bohemian, Polish, and Russian, as well as with some Oriental tongues, Hebrew, Arabic, Syriac, and Chaldaic; nor was he an entire stranger to Sanskrit. But he distinguished himself not only by his scholarship, but also by his piety. During the years of his studies he had as his spiritual director and prefect the saintly Father Seelos, who was so eminently fitted to train young men of good will. Thus our confrère endeavored to become a missionary according to the spirit of the Most Holy Redeemer. During these years of study, however, his health became somewhat impaired; but, thanks to the kind solicitude of his superiors, he was able to finish his course successfully. On March 21, 1863, he was ordained a priest, with nineteen other young Redemptorists, by the venerable Archbishop of Baltimore, Most Rev. Francis P. Kenrick. The ordination took place in the Church of the Redemptorists at Annapolis, and here also the young priests offered up their first Mass. Some time later these twenty young priests made what is called the second novitiate, at Annapolis, under the guidance of Rev. Father Helmprecht. Shortly after 1864 Father Enright was assigned to the house of the Redemptorists in Third Street, New York.

Meantime Father Enright's talents as a missionary had not escaped his superior's notice. In the summer of 1865, there-

fore, he was called to Annapolis to work as a missionary, where he was stationed until November, 1866, with a short interruption. It was here that he was visited by the most appalling trial of his life. On July 9, 1866, he took part in an outing on Chesapeake Bay with some other Fathers and students. The party was overtaken by a storm and the boat was capsized, three priests and two students being drowned. Father Enright and a student were saved, desperately clinging all night to the upturned boat. This accident gave a severe shock to his constitution, from which he never fully recovered.

From Annapolis he was soon transferred to St. Michael's Church, Baltimore, whence he often went on missionary excursions. In June, 1868, he was sent to St. Louis, Mo., where the Redemptorists had lately established their first regular Mission-House, and where, as a matter of course, the missionary labors were the principal field of the Father's activity. Here Father Enright found himself entirely at home. Two years afterward, when the great "Mission Church" was opened in Boston, Father Enright became one of the first members of that community. He remained in Boston a little over four years. In October, 1875, he was sent to the West. When, in November of the same year, the American province of the Congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer was divided, and the province of St. Louis established, Father Enright was attached to this new province and resided for some years at St. Louis. His next residence was at Kansas City, Mo., where he lived from 1884 to 1901, and then returned to St. Louis. In 1908 he returned to Kansas City, where he devoted his time chiefly to prayer and study. He was always a man of prayer.

On December 18, 1911, he was struck by apoplexy, while sitting at table. He yielded up his spirit peacefully at Kansas City, on December 27, 1911.

REV. J. W., C.S.S.R.

REV. NICHOLAS JAECKEL, C.S.S.R.

Father Jaeckel was born in Ulrichshausen, a little town in Hesse Cassel, Germany, diocese of Fulda, on July 29, 1834.

As a child he came to America with his parents, who settled in Baltimore, where they became members of the Redemptorist parish of St. Alphonsus. Little Nicholas attended the parish school attached to this church, and being of a pious disposition, was soon enrolled among the altar-boys. Quite naturally, the desire of becoming a priest gradually ripened in his heart. The Fathers who had charge of the parish perceiving the excellent qualities, both moral and intellectual, of young Nicholas took special interest in him, and after he had made his first communion and attended school a little longer, decided to send him to St. Charles College, near Ellicott City, which had recently been erected and was in charge of the Sulpician Fathers. It was, as it were, a foregone conclusion that he should not become a secular priest, but a Redemptorist. This desire was strengthened during the time he spent at the college, especially as some other youths at the college had the same intention.

Finally, at the age of nineteen he was received as a novice in the Congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer, under the Rev. Father Gabriel Rumpler, as master of novices. Father Jaeckel, in after life, often spoke of the merits of Father Rumpler. The noviceship passed happily, and in October, 1854, Father Jaeckel took his religious vows.

Having made his profession he first finished his classical studies at Annapolis and after August, 1855, in Cumberland, where he also studied philosophy and theology. He was ordained on June 6, 1860. Then he labored for a short time in Cumberland until November 2, 1862, when he was transferred to St. Philomena's Church, Pittsburgh. After a month, however, he was called to Annapolis, to fill the chair of dogmatic theology, until the summer of 1865.

Those were troublesome times, Annapolis being near the seat of the war. Near the city was Camp Parole, where the Redemptorist Fathers, and especially Father Jaeckel, exhibited their zeal for the spiritual welfare of the soldiers.

After the close of the war, in April of 1865, Father Jaeckel was sent to St. Michael's at Baltimore. But his stay was very

short; for in July the triennial changes of superiors was announced, and Father Jaeckel received the appointment of rector of SS. Peter and Paul's, at Cumberland.

The following year brought about another more important change. It had already for some years been the intention of the superiors of the Redemptorists, if possible, to withdraw the Fathers from Cumberland, and to transfer church and residence to some other Religious Order. Father Helmprecht, then superior, found the Very Rev. Cyril Knoll, the commissary of the Carmelites, willing to accept the offer. The Redemptorist Fathers, therefore, left Cumberland in October, 1866, and Father Jaeckel became superior of the Mission House of St. Alphonsus, New York City. He held this office two years, and in 1868 returned to Annapolis as rector and temporary lector. For a short time, 1870 to 1871, he was stationed at St. Alphonsus', Baltimore, taking the place of the rector, Rev. F. Joseph Wissel, who was engaged elsewhere. From Baltimore he came to New Orleans, as rector, until 1874, when he was transferred to Rochester, N. Y.

In 1875, under date of November 9, the American province of the Congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer was divided into the eastern province of Baltimore and the western province of St. Louis, and Father Jaeckel was made first provincial of the latter. He held this office three years, and during this term he added the church of Kansas City to the new province.

At the close of his term he became rector of the House of St. Alphonsus, St. Louis, where he remained after the expiration of the three years. In 1895 we find him in New Orleans. But about this time his health began to fail and he returned to St. Louis. He died June 8, 1899. In his earlier days Father Jaeckel was much engaged in missionary work. His conservative spirit and zeal for regular observance fitted him singularly for the office of superior.

Rev. J. W., C.S.S.R.

REV. RABANUS PREIS, C.S.S.R.

Father Preis was born in Herolz in Hessen, Germany, on February 17, 1829. As a young man he came to America and settled in Baltimore, where he earned his livelihood by an honest trade which he had learned in the Fatherland. Being a man full of faith, he was not only fervent in the practice of his holy religion, by frequenting the sacraments, taking part in all pious exercises, joining holy confraternities, but he aimed at something higher. Among his younger companions there were some who, being desirous to embrace the ecclesiastical state, took rudimentary lessons in Latin at the house of the Redemptorist Fathers. Thus the desire was awakened in Rabanus' soul, and this led young Preis to have the same ambition. Though more than twenty-five years of age, he was not discouraged by the thought of having to pursue a long course of studies. He applied to be admitted to the little band of scholars at St. Alphonsus, was received into the novitiate in the spring of 1859 at the age of thirty, and took his vows on March 25, 1860.

In view of his years, he was allowed special privileges in his studies. On April 1, 1865 he was ordained. In the following year he was sent to the house of the Most Holy Redeemer, Third Street, New York, where he labored, with the exception of two or three years, until the end of his earthly career. During those twenty-eight years he was entrusted with a peculiar mission. To him were confided those suffering from any bodily or spiritual ailment who might apply to the Fathers for relief. A day each week was set apart for this purpose. The good Father first gave them a short, familiar instruction, then blessed the sufferers singly with a relic and lastly heard the confessions of those who felt inclined to make their peace with God while they claimed His mercy on behalf of some corporal ailment. This was Father Preis' work on every Wednesday for more than twenty-five years.

He also attended St. Francis' Hospital in Fifth Street. Though not an eloquent, he was an impressive preacher and a popular confessor. For a short time he was stationed in Balti-

more, first at the Church of the Sacred Heart, then as superior at the Bohemian Church of St. Wenceslaus.

In the first months of 1894 Father Preis fell sick, and as his condition grew gradually worse, he was removed to St. Francis' Hospital, where he could get the needed attention, and died there peacefully on April 26, 1894.

Rev. J. W., C.S.S.R.

REV. FREDERICK LOPINTO, S.J.

Father Lopinto was born in the province of Basilicata, Italy, May 16, 1827, and entered the Society of Jesus July 30, 1844. Before his ordination he was professor of rhetoric in different colleges of the Neapolitan province of the Jesuit Order. In 1859 he was raised to the priesthood at Rome, and in the following year, because of the revolution in Italy, he was sent to the Canadian mission. During his time as a member of this division of his Order he came to New York and was stationed at St. Francis Xavier's and at Fordham College. In 1888 he returned to Italy, was stationed at Naples and Lecce, and for some years was socius to the master of novices of the Neapolitan Province. He was appointed spiritual director of the Jesuit house at Vico Equense in 1895, where he remained until his death, which occurred on September 12, 1909. Father Lopinto was a strong character, of a bright disposition, noted for his kindness and amiability.

Rev. G. C. T., S.J.

REV. PATRICK MCQUAID, S.J.

Father Patrick McQuaid was born on the 17th of March, 1827, and joined the Society of Jesus on the 6th of June, 1854. Two years later, after the completion of his noviceship, he was sent to St. Francis Xavier's College, New York, to teach in the preparatory department. The college was still in its early days, and the difficulties of teacher and prefect were manifold. Father McQuaid faced the difficulties of a young professor in a young institution manfully and religiously, and in 1859 he began his theological studies. Ordained a priest in 1865,

he returned to New York and again taught in St. Francis Xavier's until 1870. During that year he was stationed at Chatham, Canada, W., where he gave himself to parochial duties. He had been faithful in the class-room, he was no less faithful in discharging the duties of a parish priest. Ever at the service of his flock, rich and poor alike looked on him as a true friend, at their beck and call in times of trouble and sorrow. After the year 1871 Father McQuaid fulfilled the arduous duties of a member of the missionary band, and all who knew him can testify how kind and Christlike he was in the confessional, and none of his listeners ever could doubt that his lips spoke the strong convictions of his heart, as his familiar form appeared in the pulpits of the many churches that called upon his services. Father McQuaid died on October 17, 1885, at St. Vincent's Hospital, New York.

Rev. G. C. T., S.J.

REV. JOSEPH SHEA, S.J.

Father Joseph Shea, the idol of the New York and Fordham College boys in the second half of the nineteenth century, was a native of Quebec, born in 1831. When the time came to send him to college he went to St. Mary's, Montreal, where French was almost exclusively spoken. The consequence, as he told the story to his scholars at St. Francis Xavier's, was that after his two years' stay at Montreal he had completely forgotten his native English, which, however, he acquired again when he came home during vacation. He finished his classical education at St. Mary's in 1850 and immediately after entered the Society of Jesus. In the fall of 1853 he was sent to St. Francis Xavier's College, and though a comparative novice as a pedagogue he at once became very popular among the boys. The following year he advanced with his class and taught the classes of belles-lettres and rhetoric combined until September, 1857. It was during this time that he became a universal favorite among the boys at St. Francis Xavier's. Young as he was, he had gained the respect of the students by his scholarship as well as by his affability. He was not only a good classi-

cal scholar, but well acquainted with French and English literature. As a teacher he was punctilious in the performance of his own duties as well as in requiring the students to do theirs. He never failed to correct the written exercises of the boys, whether Latin or English, and this enabled them to reap the fruit of their home labors. He inspired his pupils with a genuine love of English literature at a time when most of the other professors were French or Canadians. He was the official critic of the rhetorical exercises and the first moderator of the debating society, then called the Academy. In class he was absolute master of the situation by reason of his interesting presentation of his subjects as well as by his never-failing good humor. To illustrate his lessons, he had a wealth of anecdotes, never frivolous and always to the point. His tall and not ungraceful figure and his intelligent face, appearing perhaps more serious because he always wore glasses, gave him a dignified appearance, which naturally inspired respect. He was a successful master of elocution and trained a large number of admired speakers, though it was afterward found that he was himself but a poor orator. In fact, after his ordination he often read his sermons from manuscript. At recreation it was not an uncommon sight to see him play handball with his scholars, and as he was a good player he severely criticized the muffs. When he left St. Francis Xavier's for Canada, in the summer of 1857, he had acquired a reputation which years of absence did not cause to fade. At Montreal he was professor of English and mathematics and at the same time studied philosophy. The next year his activity was transferred to the juniorate, where he taught the young Jesuits the humanities, English literature, and rhetoric, while at the same time he gave his spare hours to disciplinary work. Meantime he had reached his thirtieth year, and according to the custom of the Society he ought to have long ago taken up his philosophical studies. But he was needed as professor in the New York and Montreal colleges. Now, however, to take up his study of philosophy, he proceeded to the Jesuit college of Vals in France, where the Jesuit scholastics pursued their higher studies. This

was in the year 1859-60. Meantime, the Maryland Jesuits had opened a scholasticate at Boston. Here Mr. Shea studied philosophy for three years and began his course of theology, which he continued at Fordham. In July, 1865, after studying theology for three years, he was ordained, but continued his theological studies till 1866. After completing these he went to Frederick for the tertianship, and then was called to St. Mary's, Montreal, to take care of the physical needs of the house as minister. At the same time he was appointed moderator of St. Mary's Union, a society of post-graduates, partly club and partly of a literary nature. Having gone through the entire gamut of collegiate occupations to the satisfaction of his superiors, he was named president of Fordham College in 1868. Forthwith he became a most popular rector. The students were soon convinced that the new president was sincerely desirous of granting them the utmost privileges compatible with the strict performance of their duty. He won not only the respect but the love of the boys. Notwithstanding his popularity his administration was marked by a decrease in the number of students, largely the result of the great financial crisis of 1873. The measures devised to counteract the baneful influence of the hard times did not prove a success, so that at the end of his term of office, Father Shea left St. John's in a less prosperous condition than he had expected. But he had lost none of his popularity. He came back to St. Francis Xavier's more welcome than ever. Whether as a professor, a friend, or a spiritual director, his influence was never greater than during the last years of his life, from 1874-81. He was beloved by his scholars past and present, clerical and lay. His leisure was taken up by the young and old who stood in need of counsel and help, for he was ever ready to aid those in trouble, not only with advice but with assistance. He was well worthy of the confidence he inspired, for he was prompted not only by a kind disposition but by a sane appreciation of the difficulties. But while he was bringing comfort and peace to others, he was a great sufferer himself. He was long a victim of a painful form of hernia, and finally the medical authorities decided that

an operation was necessary. He was prepared to undergo the trial with confidence and courage. Only a week before he submitted to the operation he spoke to a friend of the plans of his future studies, for he was always desirous of self-improvement. But Providence had decided otherwise. On December 5, 1881, his friends were shocked by the news that the surgeon's knife, which was meant to bring him new life, had ended his career. His funeral showed that his many friends and in fact all Catholic New York mourned for the untimely death of the man whom all loved and esteemed.

C. G. H.

BOOK REVIEWS

I

MEMOIRS OF THOMAS ADDIS AND ROBERT EMMET WITH THEIR
ANCESTORS AND IMMEDIATE FAMILY. By Thomas Addis
Emmet, M.D., LL.D.

TO THE venerable author of these great tomes we offer our sincere congratulations, not only because at his age he had the health and energy to write these books, but also because of their merits. We take particular pleasure in offering him our homage because he was at one time the President of the United States Catholic Historical Society. In offering these congratulations, we know that we express the feelings of all our fellow-members.

The entire work, as we shall see, appeals to our interest and sympathy. The preface, however, has a particular claim on our attention. It sets forth the writer's present opinions on a number of questions upon which he lays a special stress. His views, he tells us, are the views of an American derived from those of his American ancestors who settled here more than a hundred years ago. They are not based upon accidental and ephemeral circumstances. They came to him from his father and his grandfather. He rejects with scorn the idea that England is the mother country of our great republic. Indeed, it seems to us that to apply this epithet to Great Britain is a mark of ignorance or unconscious humor on the part of those employing this metaphor. England, if we can trust history, was certainly not the mother who gave birth to the United States, but the party, call her what you may, who strove to prevent this birth. The part she played in the War of 1812 hardly did credit to her motherly character; and the author does not seem to appreciate British friendship during the last hundred years as of a maternal character, motherly affection being especially marked by truth and sincerity.

But Dr. Emmet objects to England's motherly relation to

our republic from another point of view also. The majority of Americans at the present day are not descended from English ancestry. The author has carefully investigated the ancestry of the American people as at present constituted. He does not forget that among our early forefathers there were Hollanders, Germans, Swedes, Spaniards, Frenchmen, the settlers of New York, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Florida and the vast unbounded country called Louisiana. But he proves above all, the large part that Ireland, long before 1848 and even long before 1798, took in peopling the colonies which became the United States. Evidently Dr. Emmet has studied the question very carefully and has found the sons of Erin where many would hardly look for them, in the mountains of New Hampshire and the settlements of New England. Dr. Emmet disclaimed any prejudice against Englishmen or the people of England. His own family is descended from English ancestors who settled in Ireland centuries ago. The ties of friendship bind him to many gentlemen of English blood with whom during his long life he has entertained the pleasantest relations. But in official England, or the English Government so far as its treatment of Ireland is concerned, he finds neither truth nor honesty. He can see no reason for trusting it now, where deceit and falsehood have been its characteristics in the past.

The first part of the work the "Memoirs of Thomas Addis and Robert Emmet" consists of a series of historical papers on the history of Ireland by Thomas Addis Emmet, the grandfather of the author. In them we recognize the chief qualities of a historical temperament. The treatment of the Milesian legends, which he passes over without condemning, is very skillful. His attitude toward the religious differences of the Irish people shows an honest desire to bring about an understanding that will be fair to all parties. Though a Protestant, he does not hesitate to condemn the gross injustice done in the past to his Catholic countrymen. He is most sympathetic with them throughout, though, of course, there are instances in which a Catholic might differ from him in judgment but not in feeling. The elder Thomas Addis Emmet had apparently no more

confidence in the English officialdom than his grandson, and his account of the viceroyalty of Lord Fitzwilliam seems thoroughly to bear out the justice of this view. The story of Ireland from 1790 to 1800 is a recital full of interest and evidently seeks to be fair to all Irishmen. The author is a man of deliberation, not hasty to throw in his fortunes under the impulse of feeling only, but striving to choose a course of action that will bring the greatest happiness to his beloved country. Hence his hesitation to join the United Irishmen with whom unquestionably his sympathies went from the first. We can not here, of course, do full justice to the merits of Dr. Emmet's grandfather as a historian, but can assure our readers that a perusal of these historic documents will enable them to arrive at a true picture of the United Irishmen of 1798. The reader will clearly see that to his grandfather the union of Ireland with England seems to have been no more desirable or compatible with the welfare of Ireland than it appears to Dr. Thomas Addis Emmet.

The following chapters give quite a full account of the Emmet family in all its branches and of their marriage relations. The author then takes up the story of the United Irishmen and especially of his grandfather's connection with that movement. He dwells upon the prudent conduct of his grandfather and the betrayal of the cause, owing to Lord Edward Fitzgerald's rash confidences to a government spy named Reynolds. As a consequence, the heads of the United Irishmen were imprisoned and the leaders who succeeded them gave the signal for an ill-considered and unsuccessful rising. Meantime, Mr. Thomas Addis Emmet, Dr. Macneven, and other leaders were held in confinement at Kilmainham and afterward at Newgate. Seeing the sad and useless destruction of their countrymen both in battle and in the courts, negotiations were opened between them and the government. Dr. Emmet's work here discloses the version of these negotiations according to the documents and recitals of the Irish leaders and especially from the writings, published and unpublished, of his grandfather. From Newgate, Mr. Emmet and the other leaders of the United Irishmen were taken

to Fort George in Scotland. The most striking features of Mr. Emmet's experiences in Fort George are laid before us in a series of letters from his father, Dr. Robert Emmet, and his mother to him while in prison. They contain a touching and inspiring picture of true family life and love. The affection of the prisoner for his wife and children, who of their own accord came to share the irksomeness and hardships of Mr. Emmet's fortress prison, the anxious solicitude of his mother and father to offer him all the consolation in their power, and the active readiness to do what could be done by sisters, brothers, and other relatives, are a touching and heart-stirring picture of family life. The letters and recital bring home to us the confidence of the other prisoners in Mr. Emmet and also the humane, liberal, and even generous treatment of the Scotch governor of the fort, Lieutenant-Governor Dougal Stuart. To this noble Scot, Emmet owed not only many privileges while confined, especially the society of his wife and children, but also his liberation in 1802.

The frigate *Ariadne* took Mr. Emmet to Holland. Then followed a stay of some months at Brussels. The events of this period are told in letters from Mr. Rowan and Dr. Macneven. His subsequent work as minister of the Irish Republic to the French Government under the Consul Bonaparte is told in the diary¹ kept by him in France and which extends from May 30, 1803 to March 10, 1804.

Mr. Emmet devoted himself to the task set for him as the minister of the Irish Republic with zeal, ability, and patriotism. But his success was not equal to his conscientious efforts. The story of his work for Irish liberty in spite of the chicanery of Bonaparte's government and of the selfish intrigues of some of the Irish leaders in France makes interesting but not edifying reading. At last he was disgusted with so much bad faith, and satisfied of the uselessness of his endeavors, he resolved to carry out his original plans and to make for himself a new home in the United States.

¹Our readers will find a notice of this interesting diary in "Historical Records and Studies," vol. i of the year 1899-1900.

The story of his arrival in New York, the reception accorded to him and his family by his Irish and American friends, of his successful attempts to establish himself as a jurist, are told in another series of letters well worth reading. We have, however, been especially attracted by the family correspondence telling of his domestic and social life in the New World. It unfolds for us a family devoted to their parents, growing up under the wise direction of an affectionate and self-respecting father, and gaining for themselves the esteem of their new friends and neighbors. Prosperity at last crowns the efforts of the much tried patriot. His brightness, his lofty principles, his political honor, and his generous readiness to help the poor and oppressed are at last appreciated to the full. His sons and daughters, worthy of so worthy a father, are received by the most respected families in New York and form happy alliances with the most estimable sons and daughters of their new countrymen. What were Mr. Emmet's views on the duties of wife and husband and on the best manner of securing wedded happiness is beautifully set down in two letters to his daughter Elizabeth, married to Mr. William H. Le Roy. They may be recommended for repeated reading by brides of the present day. They are full of wisdom and of common sense.

Beloved by his consort, and loving her with true and delicate affection, fond and proud of his children, who in turn respected and admired him, honored by his fellow-citizens, he spent the evening of his life in unmarred happiness. He died in 1827.

Robert Emmet, the author's granduncle, is the hero of the second volume. To American schoolboys—and we have all been American schoolboys—Robert Emmet has been one of the best known and most popular characters of their boyhood days. Who has not heard again and again of Emmet's oration on the occasion of his trial. Strange to say, few American boys and men think of Robert Emmet as a youngster scarcely out of his teens. Yet he was but twenty-three when he perished on the scaffold. That a mere youth should have blundered again and again in the conception and the carrying out of a rebellion such as that of 1803, that he should have gathered around him not

greybeards or men of prudence, but men more full of enthusiasm than of judgment, will astonish no man. That under the circumstances he should have brought to explosion a scheme which to judge by the utterances of the British statesmen of the day shook the England of Pitt and Castlereagh to its foundations, is amazing and suggests that in their opinion their great empire stood on feet of clay.

Assuredly the tale of Robert Emmet's attempt at revolution is romantic—romantic in the person of its leader; romantic in the humble character of its adherence; romantic in the loyalty of the conspirators; romantic in the chivalrous conduct of the youthful leader to his followers. But the story becomes most romantic and most pathetic when we learn of Emmet's conduct to his lady love, Sarah Curran, and of the last visit to him by his mother, of which the author gives an account for the first time.

Dr. Emmet gives us all the details of this sad story full of warning and yet full of inspiration, partly in his own language and partly in the words of the participants in the events. Not only the friends of Robert Emmet are introduced as witnesses, but also his foes. The official reports of the government are drawn upon to present the government view and Dr. Emmet has scoured every nook and corner of published and manuscript literature to clear up the many mysteries of his ill-fated grand-uncle's undertaking. Every clue is followed up that can throw light upon the personality of the traitors and especially of the traitor who betrayed the hiding-place of Robert Emmet without, however, any convincing success. But a short review can not give all the interesting and exciting phases of this sad yet romantic story. The admirers of enthusiastic but ill-advised youth of sincere patriotism, unstained honor, high-minded love, and deep filial affection, can not do better than read the story of Robert Emmet's last days in his grandnephew's interesting work. He will find in it the complete tale of the unfortunate uprising on July 23, 1803 with the sequel of Robert Emmet's trial and death. The proceedings of the trial are given in full from the official records, the speech of Robert Emmet in several

versions, so that the reader has the means of judging of the authenticity of the different texts.

The hero's death is naturally followed by the love-story which binds together the names of Robert Emmet and Sarah Curran, a sad but inspiring tale of love and patriotism.

The last part of the volume is taken up with a variety of information which will no doubt interest the readers who have followed the recital by Dr. Emmet of his grandfather's and grand-uncle's careers. Specimens are given of the undoubtedly clever contributions to the poetry of patriotism made by various members of the Emmet family. Not only were the members of this talented family endowed with great oratorical talents, but many of them, both male and female, were favorites of the Muses. Every reader of these volumes, therefore, will surely find something to his taste. This remark applies not only to the literary quality of the work, but also to its typographical excellence. Every page suggests that Dr. Emmet was helped by able and conscientious assistants. We desire also to draw attention to the beautiful illustrations, which can not fail to prove an added charm to the work.

To the author we repeat our congratulations and express our hope that he may still be vouchsafed many years to inspire us with a living example of patriotism and of love of historic truth.

CHARLES G. HERBERMANN.

II

JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL AS A CRITIC. By Joseph J. Reilly, M.A. (Columbia), Ph.D. (Yale).

When one thinks of James Russell Lowell, one thinks of the foremost of the New England school of writers, in the days when Boston was the center of things literary, or the Harvard town just over the River Charles; one thinks of green-covered volumes entitled "My Study Windows" and "Among My Books," and perhaps of ever so many things else besides; but never, even in the most agile flights of fancy, does one dream of the "Records and Studies of the United States Catholic His-

torical Society." Even a negative knowledge of the religious leanings of the author of "A Fable For Critics" would seem to preclude that possibility quite eternally. But the aloofness is to be neither eternal nor quite. For the reviewer has before him a well-made volume, published by Putnam's, which bears on the title-page the words "James Russell Lowell As A Critic," by Joseph J. Reilly, M.A. (Columbia), Ph.D. (Yale). And if Lowell was not a Catholic, Dr. Reilly certainly is.

A book reviewer, somebody has recently observed, with a mild cynicism not completely divorced from a milder humor, is one who may not be able to write a book, but can tell the book's author how it should have been written. The present reviewer has no such delightful half of an antithesis to spur his conceit, for Dr. Reilly has been quite unobliging in offering himself as a sinner in literary craftsmanship. It is surely an absorbing book that he writes; and a necessary book to any one who would wish to possess that comfortable and not discomforting feeling of knowing just where to begin and where to end in the matter of lauding Lowell. It is the last word in keen, rigid analysis, a choice flower of mature and painstaking thinking. The author handles his subject with the graceful ease born of full possession of the facts, and he displays an erudition that must command the admiration of every lover of careful scholarship.

"Lowell," writes Dr. Reilly in one of his seven chapters, "never pardoned dullness in a work of literature"; he would not have to make the Gilbertian qualification of the adverb in the work of his latest critic; for never is Dr. Reilly dull. Much of the study is, as it was intended to be, a minutely investigative research, but the author has not lost sight of the advantage of presenting his discoveries in an appealing manner; and when, at intervals all too rare, he has an opportunity to write half a page or more without the incubus of a *vide opera* or an illuminating quotation riding on his literary shoulders, we are treated to specimens of English which, for vitality of expression and charm of style, are nothing if not delightful.

Dr. Reilly's book is not merely a biography or a general

critique, though in both of these characters it achieves distinction; but it is a work of special pleading. The author has a thesis to offer and defend, the burden of which is that Lowell was not a critic of literature, with the detachment and depth of penetration that a real critic must have, but that in his valuations of literature he was often guided by his enthusiasms, and more than once led far afield by them. If Coleridge, or Hazlitt, or Sainte-Beuve, if any one of these is to be ranked as a literary critic of the first order, and all three of them usually are, then Lowell will have to be content with a place less distinguished; for, in view of the present writer's careful study of America's greatest man of letters, the Lowell who quite generally has been accepted as a writer skilled in the knowledge and application of the canons of criticism as he was graceful and imaginative in the weaving of language, must recede to the larger quarters of the impressionists. A man whose abhorrence for Pope was well-nigh as exquisite as his love for Dryden must be suspected of having lacked some of the fundamentals that form the irreducible minimum in the equipment of a critic *par excellence*; this seems plausible enough, certainly to one who may not have a relish for sustaining the suspicion against the eagerness of the most zealous Lowellite. But Dr. Reilly weighs the evidence with a steady balance, and allows no fact to escape the scales of justice.

After a survey of Lowell's life, which comprised the seventy-two years between 1819 and 1891, Dr. Reilly devotes some space to an exposition of the range of Lowell's knowledge. Greek and Latin, Italian, Spanish, French, and German—Lowell played no favorites among the tongues of cultural expression; and in his series of essays on the great English poets and elsewhere, there is constant evidence of his familiarity with the literature of the Continent. A chapter on the breadth and limitations of Lowell's sympathy points out that Lowell was supremely interested in the great classics of the ages rather than in the lesser masterpieces of literature; he wrote of the author of the *Divina Commedia* in preference to the singer of *Gerusalemme Liberata*, of the man whose genius lives in Portia and

Rosalind and Hamlet and Lear in preference to the author of "She Stoops To Conquer"; though he forgets Molière and Corneille for Rousseau, and it is Lessing, not Goethe, whom he asks to hold a brief for Germany. But in his attitude toward his chosen subjects for literary treatment, Lowell, in Dr. Reilly's study, is not found to have preserved the judicial coolness of a calm arbiter; there is a bit too much of finality, or a bit too little of dispassion in his conclusions, albeit in the large his criticisms are for the most part just. The present critic, moreover, denies to Lowell a penetration deep enough to sound a work of literary art to the ultimate. Taste he has, appreciation he has, and a fulness of poetic imagination in phrasing his impressions; but the power of correlating the qualities which he finds in an author, of discovering the precise secret of a man's genius, of constructing from a series of inductive experiments the formula of a writer's individuality—this Dr. Reilly believes to be, if not an entirely missing element in Lowell's intellectual gifting, at least a critical faculty rarely called upon. Lowell's shortcomings as a critic, then, are due to a lack of philosophic depth of mind, as a result of which he is an impressionist rather than a critic of the first rank.

"It is the purpose of this study," the author says in the concluding chapter, "to endeavor to appraise him for what he is and candidly to inquire whether he belongs to the ranks of critics. No conclusions which aim to state the real truth about Lowell are unfair. He has been regarded as a critic; in such a light he seems seriously to have regarded himself. But to assign him such a rank is to do him the injustice of over-estimation. If he would claim kinship with Ulysses, let him prove his metal by bending the hero's bow."

Every lover of Lowell will be glad of this masterful treatment of a master man; it will in no wise destroy an admiration for a worthy who wrote with a fine sureness, if sometimes a mistaken one, on the genius of English luminaries as widely different as Keats, Carlyle, Milton, and Chaucer; who studied Dante twenty years before producing the famous essay; who was versatile enough to be able to occupy the chair of belles-

lettres at Harvard, or to grace the Court of St. James as America's Minister, or to write poetry representative of the Cambridge school's best, or to edit the learned pages of the *Atlantic Monthly*. Dr. Reilly, in his volume, has no ambition to diminish even by a little the true sum of Lowell's glory. His work was to prove Lowell an impressionist, and not a deeply philosophic critic of literature; and no one can say upon reading the book that he did not do the work well.

JOSEPH FRANCIS WICKHAM, M.A.

III

HISTORICAL TRIBUTE TO ST. THOMAS' SEMINARY AT POPLAR NECK NEAR BARDSTOWN, KENTUCKY. By Rev. William J. Howlett. 8vo. St. Louis, 1906.

St. Thomas' Seminary at Poplar Neck, three miles from Bardstown, Ky., was the first seminary established in the West. Its founder was the great Bishop Flaget, the first Bishop of Bardstown, now the see of Louisville and a prelate whose memory will be ever gratefully remembered by the people not only of Kentucky but of the Middle West.

In Rev. William J. Howlett, St. Thomas' has found a historian whose eloquent words do justice to his theme. He is endowed not only with eloquence of language but with the industry needed to deal with the subjects which like St. Thomas' Seminary and all primitive institutions laid more importance on its achievements than on its records. Moreover, Father Howlett does not take his theme in its narrowest sense. He does not confine himself to the four walls of the seminary. Though he gives us an adequate picture of the seminary and seminarians and the professor, Bishop David, he likewise furnishes us with the background of his picture, the religious condition of Kentucky in the opening years of the nineteenth century. He gives his picture atmosphere, to continue the metaphor. He describes not only the Catholic pioneers of Kentucky, but their non-Catholic contemporaries both in the days of their

original religious poverty and after the days of the religious revival. God save the mark!

St. Thomas' Seminary was the joint work of Thomas Howard, Bishop Flaget, and Bishop David. Howard generously donated the four hundred acres which furnished the material home of the institution; Bishop Flaget gave the seminary to the people of Bardstown, beginning it even during his voyage from Pittsburgh to Louisville, and Bishop David was the learned, laborious, and saintly professor who inspired his pupils with the true spirit of virtue and religion. We should not forget the seminarians themselves, who were not only exemplary students, models of virtue, but also the material builders of their home of learning, as well as of the convent of Loretto near by. The author describes for us the wonderful influence of the professor on the students, and thus makes it possible to understand how, practically alone and unaided, he furnished Kentucky with a clergy that made their people almost ideal Catholics. The early period of St. Thomas' did not last long. It passed away with the removal of the seminary to Bardstown in 1818. St. Thomas' then became a preparatory seminary, and Father Howlett, with equal ability and loving affection, follows its fortunes to its abandonment in 1869. We congratulate the alumni of St. Thomas' on having found so able a historian in Father Howlett.

CHARLES G. HERBERMANN.

IV

FESTSCHRIFT ZUM SILBERNEN JUBILÄUM DES LEO-HAUSES GEGRÜNDET ZUM SCHUTZE KATHOLISCHER EINWANDERER. Herausgegeben vom Direktorium des Leo-Hauses. 88 pp. 8vo. New York, 1914.

In the first volume of the "Historical Records and Studies," Mr. Joseph Schaefer told the story of the object, of the foundation and the activity of the Raphaels-Verein and gave an account of the Leo-Haus and the work it had done until 1898 for the Catholic German immigrants arriving in the harbor of New York. Mr. Schaefer's article, inspired by religious and

patriotic interests, was full and exhaustive. To-day the Leo-Haus is celebrating the twenty-fifth anniversary of its foundation, and its directors present to the St. Raphael Society and to the patrons of the Leo-Haus the story of the institution and of its activity in behalf of the religious and material interests of the German immigrant. If Mr. Schaefer's article sixteen years ago gave to our readers an interesting account of this noble work, they will read with equal pleasure the encouraging words of Cardinal Farley and Monsignor Bonzano for its future. The volume contains, moreover, the history of the Leo-Haus as a charitable institution. The editors have been careful not to confine this to a mere financial account. They have added a variety of humorous and edifying sketches which will no doubt be appreciated. The decrease in the German immigration some ten or fifteen years ago and its total cessation during the European war have greatly interfered with the work proper to the Leo-Haus. But this has not prevented the directors from seeing to it that the Leo-Haus should remain a source of charity and of blessing to the German immigrant. The future of the institution has been carefully considered by its guardians, who give an account of their plans in this jubilee volume.

CHARLES G. HERBERMANN.

NECROLOGY

RIGHT REV. THOMAS M. A. BURKE, D.D.

Bishop Thomas M. A. Burke, of Albany, N. Y., died at the episcopal residence on January 20, 1915. Less than seven months before, on June 28, he was the central figure of a splendid celebration of his sacerdotal golden jubilee and the twentieth anniversary of his consecration as bishop. He was born in Ireland, January 10, 1840, and came to Utica, N. Y., in 1850 with his father, a physician of good repute in his native land. The future bishop's early education was secured at local academies and St. Michael's College, Toronto. He then went to St. Charles', Ellicott City, Md., and to St. Mary's Seminary, Baltimore, where he was ordained, on June 30, 1864. His first charge was at St. John's, Albany, whence he went to St. Joseph's as pastor. He was vicar-general of the diocese for seven years under Bishop McNierny and was named the successor of that prelate in the see of Albany, on May 11, 1894. His administration of the see was most successful and progressive and he has left it in a very flourishing condition. He was a member of the United States Catholic Historical Society since May 12, 1903.

RIGHT REV. CHARLES H. COLTON, D.D.

Bishop Charles H. Colton, of Buffalo, N. Y., died in that city on May 9, 1915, after a brief illness. Bishop Colton was born in New York City, October 15, 1848, the son of Patrick S. and Teresa Mullin Colton. He was educated at St. Francis Xavier's College and St. Joseph's Seminary in Troy, and was ordained a priest in Troy in 1876. He was assistant priest of St. Stephen's Church from 1876 to 1886, when he was sent to Port Chester, but the year following he was made pastor of St. Stephen's, and succeeded in bringing peace to that distracted parish rent by the factional disturbances of the Single

Tax controversy. He freed the church from debt and built its splendid schools. In 1896 Archbishop Corrigan made him chancellor to succeed Monsignor Mooney, when the latter became vicar-general. In 1903 he was consecrated bishop of the diocese of Buffalo. Bishop Colton was the author of "Seedlings," 1906; "My Trip to Rome and the Holy Land," 1906, and "Buds and Blossoms," 1910. He was a member of the United States Catholic Historical Society since January 14, 1900.

RIGHT REV. MONSIGNOR CHARLES MCCREADY

The Right Rev. Monsignor Charles McCreedy, LL.D., rector of the Church of the Holy Cross, New York City, died of pneumonia on May 9, 1915. He was born in Letterkenny, County Donegal, Ireland, March 2, 1837. His theological course was begun at the Maynooth Seminary and completed when he came to this country in 1864, at Mount St. Mary's, Emmitsburg, Md. He was ordained to the priesthood by Archbishop McCloskey in the old St. Patrick's Cathedral, August 16, 1866. After he became rector of the Holy Cross parish in September, 1877, Monsignor McCreedy cleared the church of debt, remodeled the edifice itself, and built a large parochial school. He was appointed permanent pastor in 1891, and in 1904 Pope Pius made him a prelate. At the time of his death he was president of the Maynooth Union of the United States. He was a member of the United States Catholic Historical Society since June 18, 1902.

RIGHT REV. MONSIGNOR DENIS J. McMAHON

Another prelate who was a most zealous member of our Historical Society, the Right Rev. Monsignor Denis J. McMahon, rector of the Church of the Epiphany, New York, died of cerebral hemorrhage on April 11, 1915. Monsignor McMahon was born in New York in 1855. He studied at Manhattan College and the Grand Seminary in Montreal, where he was ordained a priest in 1881. His first appointment as pastor was to St. Thomas Aquinas', in the Bronx. In 1900 he was

appointed to the Church of the Epiphany, where he remained until his death.

He was elevated to the domestic prelacy by the Pope in 1904. Monsignor McMahon was the diocesan Supervisor of Charities for a number of years and in that important office was known all over the country as one of the leading authorities on the movements looking to social betterment and the progress in the right direction of modern organized charity. He also served for several terms as president of the Catholic Summer School.

JOHN MULLALY

John Mullaly, the last of the old time editors of repute, in the era before the Civil War, died at his residence in New York City, on January 2, 1915, in his eightieth year. Born in Belfast, Ireland, Mr. Mullaly came to New York in the early fifties and began his newspaper career on the "Tribune" and the "Evening Post." In 1859, Archbishop Hughes, at odds with McMaster's "Freeman's Journal," started the "Metropolitan Record," and made Mr. Mullaly its editor. He so continued until the paper ceased publication in 1873. When the first Atlantic cable was laid (1857-58) Mullaly went abroad as the representative of the "New York Herald" and reported the laying of the cable for that paper. After his editorial functions ceased he served the city in several offices of trust, and was the projector of the great system of public parks that now adorn Bronx Borough. He was the inventor of a process of using aluminum plates in lithography. He wrote a history of the laying of the Atlantic cable, and several treatises on the park system and the milk trade of New York City, and edited for the St. Patrick's Cathedral Fair the "Journal of the Fair" (1878), and the "Seminary" (1892-96), a monthly printed for the benefit of the Dunwoodie Seminary. In his last years he found special pleasure in unweariedly ministering to the comfort of the poor old people under the care of the Little Sisters of the Assumption, and left his modest fortune to local charities. He became a member of the United States Catholic Historical Society on March 19, 1903.

JUSTICE EDWARD B. AMEND

Supreme Court Justice Edward B. Amend died at his residence, New York, on October 20, 1914. Justice Amend, who was long a member, and for several terms a councillor of our Historical Society, was born in New York, June 2, 1858. He was the son of Bernard Amend, a prominent leader in the old German Catholic colony of the lower East Side. After he graduated in 1877 at St. Francis Xavier's College he took up the study of law at Columbia, receiving his degree there in 1879. He at once began to practise and attained a large measure of success. In 1902 he was elected to the office of Justice of the Supreme Court and took his seat on the Bench January 1, 1903 for a term to expire in 1916. He gained the reputation of a judge of absolute fairness and a wise and careful administrator of the law. Before his elevation to the Bench he was a trustee for a number of years of the Catholic Protectory and of the College of the City of New York.

EDWARD W. BERGE

Edward W. Berge, for thirty years professor of music at the Convent of the Sacred Heart, Manhattanville, in which position he succeeded his father, the famous Dr. William Berge, died on March 16, 1915, at his residence, New York, in his fifty-seventh year. He was born in New York and after graduating with the class of 1878 at St. Francis Xavier's College adopted the profession of music, in which he attained notable success. He was a popular and an enthusiastic member of our Historical Society and also of the Musicians', Salmagundi, and Catholic Clubs, the Alumni and the Alumni Sodality of St. Francis Xavier's, the First Company of the Veterans of the Seventh Regiment, and the Fraternal Association of Musicians, of which he was a former president. Mr. Berge was unmarried.

JOHN EMMET CAHALAN, A.M.

In John Emmet Cahalan the United States Catholic Historical Society has lost a valuable member, who was its record-

ing secretary for more than seventeen years. During all these long years Mr. Cahalan missed only a single meeting either of the Society or its Executive Council. Naturally precise, he performed his duties with the utmost punctiliousness, and to him is due in no slight degree the smoothness and precision with which the Society's business ran along.

Mr. Cahalan was, I may say, literally a lifelong friend of the writer, for our friendship dates back to the year 1863, fifty-one years ago. In September of that year, Mr. Cahalan was entrusted with the instruction of the second commercial class in the College of St. Francis Xavier. At the same time he studied the higher classics under me. The next year I taught him philosophy, and had thus the best opportunity to know and value him as a man, a student, and a scholar, and, I may add, as a teacher. His earnestness, his scholarly tastes, and his natural ability made him a success in all these particulars, and his straightforward and honest character gained for him the confidence and respect of all those with whom he came in contact. At the same time, he was modest and retiring, which greatly tended to secure for him the friendship of all.

John Emmet Cahalan was born on September 29, 1844 in the city of London. His family originated from Fermoy, County Cork, whence came his cousin, the Rev. William F. Sheehan, of West Troy, New York, who was a close friend of Mr. Cahalan's since the family arrived in the United States. His father and mother died early. In 1861, Cahalan, then sixteen years old, entered the College of St. Francis Xavier, and had as his classmate the Rev. Father Thomas J. Campbell, S.J., who greatly esteemed his old comrade throughout life. Of his career in St. Francis' we have spoken above. We need only add that, having pursued a postgraduate course, he took the degree of A.M. in 1866 and carried off the gold medal for ethics and delivered the Master's Oration. Meantime, he had resigned his position of instructor in the college and entered the employ of Mr. Coutant, a highly respectable French importer and custom-house broker, whose entire confidence he gained. When Mr. Coutant died, the business passed over to

Mr. Cahalan. We must not fail to remark here that while carrying on Mr. Coutant's business, he took up the zealous study of the French language and literature, which he had begun at college, and acquired an unusual mastery of the same. The Franco-Prussian War blighted the promises of his budding business in 1871, because most of his customers were French. While in the custom-house and importing business, Mr. Cahalan married Miss Anne C. Carroll at St. Francis Xavier's Church, where she was a teacher in the Sunday-school.

In 1875 Mr. Cahalan was appointed professor of Latin in St. Louis College, and in 1879 held the same position in the Paulist community. At the same time he contributed a number of letters on Catholic historical subjects to the annuals published by the Catholic Publication Society and to the "Catholic News." He also wrote a biography of Father Hecker.

When on the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of St. Francis Xavier's College the alumni published a memorial volume, Mr. Cahalan was indefatigable in its preparation. Much of the merit of the volume is due to his faithful memory and his diligent research.

At the beginning of this notice we have dwelt upon the services Mr. Cahalan rendered to the United States Catholic Historical Society as secretary. But these did not include all the work he did for the Society. To the early volumes of our Historical Records and Studies he made almost regular contributions, distinguished for their scholarship and accuracy. Translations from the *Annales de la Propagation de la Foi* and the letters of Father de Smet to the Parmentier family deserve to be especially mentioned.

After his graduation Mr. Cahalan kept in close touch with his Alma Mater and with the alumni movements connected therewith. He was one of the original members of the Xavier Alumni Sodality, which was founded in 1863. When, a few years later, the Alumni Association was founded, he was one of its charter members and for some years its historian.

The Paulist community school having been given up, Mr. Cahalan returned to his business career. He became con-

nected with the firm of Pinaud & Company in a confidential position, which he retained to his end.

While Mr. Cahalan was enjoying his vacation in September last he paid a visit to some relatives in Boston and spent a very pleasant time. He was on the point of returning to New York and had already boarded a train when before the car started he was stricken with apoplexy and taken to a hospital. After lying ill there for some weeks he was taken to his home, though still in a precarious condition. At home he was nursed with the most faithful care by Mrs. Cahalan and his daughters Mary E. and A. Cecilia. These, as well as his son, John I., watched at his bedside until he was taken to his reward on November 16. Besides these children, Mr. Cahalan had a third daughter, Mother Ethelreda, of the Helpers of the Holy Souls.

At a meeting of the Executive Council of the United States Catholic Historical Society, held at the residence of the president on November 30, the following resolutions were offered by the Right Rev. Monsignor McGean:

At a special meeting of the United States Catholic Historical Society, held November thirtieth, nineteen hundred and fourteen, at the residence of the president, Charles G. Herbermann, Ph.D., LL.D., Lit.D., 346 Convent Avenue, New York City, the following resolutions were passed on the death of John E. Cahalan, A.M., late Recording Secretary of the Society:

WHEREAS, God in His Infinite Wisdom has called to Himself our much esteemed fellow-member of the United States Catholic Historical Society; and

WHEREAS, Our late associate was for the past seventeen years a most faithful secretary of our society; and

WHEREAS, He endeared himself to us, not more by his most efficient services than by his gentle character; be it

RESOLVED, That while we bow in faith and resignation to the will of God, who has taken him from us, and from the work to which he was so faithful, we record our appreciation of him, as a Christian man, as a scholarly historian, and as a

secretary, who has served almost as none other to foster and to perpetuate the labors of the writers and historians connected with our society.

RESOLVED, That whilst in confidence that the justice of God will crown his work with glory, we join with the many, who knew and admired the man, we likewise join with them in commending his soul to the merciful goodness of Almighty God.

RESOLVED, That an engrossed copy of these resolutions, which are to be inscribed in the records of the Society, be presented to his bereaved relatives, as a mark of our sympathy for them, and of our appreciation of their departed kinsman.

CHARLES G. HERBERMANN,
President.

JOSEPH H. FARGIS,
Acting Recording Secretary.

REPORT OF THE ANNUAL MEETING, NEW YORK, APRIL 12, 1915

The annual meeting of the United States Catholic Historical Society was held at Delmonico's, Forty-fourth Street and Fifth Avenue, Manhattan, New York City, on Monday evening, April 12, 1915. The President, Dr. Charles G. Herbermann, in the chair.

About fifty members were present.

The President made a brief address showing the progress of the work in which the Society was engaged.

The following gentlemen were proposed for membership, namely:

Rev. William J. Howlett, Loretto Academy,
Nerinx, P. O., Ky.

Rev. John J. O'Neill, 1119 Forty-first Street,
Brooklyn, N. Y.

On motion of Mr. Stephen Farrelly, the Secretary was instructed to cast a ballot in favor of their election and they were thereupon declared unanimously elected.

Announcement was made of the death of the following members since the last meeting of the Executive Council, namely:

Rt. Rev. Mgr. Charles McCready,
329 W. 42d Street, New York.

Rt. Rev. Mgr. Denis J. McMahon,
239 East 21st Street, New York.

The Treasurer, Mr. Richard S. Treacy, read his report of the finances of the Society, and a committee consisting of Mr. Thomas Kelly, Dr. J. Vincent Crowne, and Rev. William Livingston was appointed to audit such report.

On motion the thanks of the Society were unanimously voted to the Treasurer for his efficient services.

The matter of the election of officers and members of the Executive Council for the ensuing year was then proceeded with, and the Secretary read the list of candidates selected by

the Executive Council at its last meeting to be presented at this general annual meeting, and the President invited the members present to make other nominations if they so desired.

No other nominations were made and thereupon on motion of Mr. Andrew D. Shipman, the Secretary was directed to cast a single ballot in favor of the election of all the persons named in the list so proposed by the Executive Council, and such ballot being cast, the following gentlemen were declared duly elected for the ensuing year to the respective offices, namely:

President, CHARLES G. HERBERMANN, PH.D., LL.D.

Vice-President, STEPHEN FARRELLY.

Treasurer, RICHARD S. TREACY, A.M.

Corresponding Secretary, JOSEPH H. FARGIS, LL.D.

Recording Secretary, JAMES M. TULLY.

Librarian, REV. JOSEPH F. DELANY, D.D.

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Rt. Rev. Mgr. James H. McGean, LL.D. Thomas S. O'Brien, LL.D.
Thomas F. Meehan, A.M.

Rt. Rev. Mgr. John F. Kearney. Peter Condon, A.M.

Councillors:

Rev. Thomas J. Campbell, S.J. William J. Amend.

Edward J. McGuire, LL.D. J. Vincent Crowne, Ph.D.

William R. King. Arthur F. J. Remy.

An interesting paper on the *Neue Welt-Bott*, written by Dr. Charles G. Herbermann, was read by Mr. Henry F. Herbermann and was listened to with great interest by the members, after which, on motion of Rt. Rev. Mgr. James H. McGean, the meeting adjourned.

PETER CONDON,

Secretary.

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